JUDGMENT DAY II, AN EDITION

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CHAPTER I

Judgment Day II: Analysis and Commentary on the Poem and Its Latin Model

Section 1. Introduction

The Old English translation of Bede's Latin verses on the Last Judgment,[1] referred to now as Judgment Day II,[2] still presents many problems of literary assessment. The textual and philological problems attendant upon the poem have in the main been solved.[3] Yet an account of the distinctive literary features of the Latin and Old English poems in organization and technique and, secondly, an assessment of the poetic merits of the Old English version are still lacking. Dealing with the distinctive literary features will be the burden of this first chapter. Discussion of the ideas found in this poem--and there are many treated explicitly or implicitly--will, for the sake of coherence, be handled in notes. The first part of this chapter, then, will be a detailed analysis and commentary on the four major parts of the poem, underlining at all times what is distinctive about it. This completed, we shall then attempt to place the poem in a tradition that will account for these features. In this discussion we shall be dealing with both the Latin and the Old English, for in tone, spirit, and organization, they are identical. Finally, we shall assess the poetic merits of the Old English translation.

The poem dramatizes a sinner's self-exhortation to prepare for the Last Judgment. To this end, the Judgment, the pains of the damned, and the joys of the saved are described and narrated. In the short preamble to the actual dramatic situation, it is made clear that the action occurred some time in the past, that the ensuing action is re-created or re-lived in retrospect. The poem is certainly not an elegy. Unlike The Seafarer, for example, the central figure is not revealed or singularized. He remains the anonymous "Sinner." Too, because of the nature of the dramatic situation, neither monologue or soliloquy is an adequate label. The self is addressed, exhorted, encouraged, and admonished, but without the unfolding and continuing revelation of character that we have come to associate with the monologue or soliloquy. Yet, for all his anonymity, there is a speaker, and we will later discuss how consistently this otherwise anonymous figure is revealed.

Though the whole of the poem has a dramatic structure, large sections of narrative and description tend to overshadow it. Progressively in the poem the sense of the dramatic situation with its realism and urgency blurs or is altogether lost. Comparing the opening nine lines of the Old English with the later depiction of Heaven, we are reminded again of Seafarer. In our poem, the

realism, the sense of the actual, of the first nine lines is made to bear a considerable weight, but in Seafarer such is not the case. In our poem the lengthy depictions of the Judgment, Hell, and Heaven are, ideally, being told to the self, and we should expect some attention or reference to the self. However, the generality of these sections and the lack of any specific reference to the self further weaken the dramatic situation and contribute to the anonymity of the speaker. Also in these depictions the speaker shifts his focus, and rather than focusing exclusively on the self, gradually widens his field of vision to include all mankind. The cumulative effect is that progressively in the poem the dramatic situation is forgotten.[4]

Regardless of how ineptly the dramatic and the narrative are balanced, the dramatic frame or border does make this poem distinctive. First, the narration of future events and the depiction of the future states are conceived from a single consciousness. Thus this personal and essentially meditative poem need not imply completeness or authority. These depictions are, in this sense, private, not public or dogmatic statements. This point is important when we later consider these various depictions, which are as often striking for what is not said as for what is. There may be a subtle implication that

what this sinner sees, or what The Sinner sees, is all that need be known for his own salvation. References to "private" and "public" are more meaningful to the Modern world than to the Medieval;[5] and the ideas of this poem are traditional and orthodox, yet the fact remains that much more could have been included.

Furthermore, the dramatic situation is internalized and happens in the present. Throughout the speaker is conscious and imaginatively sees the future. As it is organized, the poem contrasts with the Soul-Body debates, which, while dramatic and exhortative, always occur after death in some indeterminate state awaiting the Judgment and final condemnation. On the other hand, this poem is no vision or dream. Though the depictions of Hell and Heaven are suggestive of the vision literature, still the dramatic structure does not allow them to become so.

Finally, the dramatic structure has a distinctive use. The long narrative and descriptive sections are linked together by the speaker suddenly interrupting the narration and addressing himself. Such short sections, in which the dramatic sense is recaptured, I have termed "dramatic links." These are first the central transitional device holding together disparate and self-contained tableaux.[6] But more than a transi-

tional device, these links allow the poet a certain freedom to choose those events most amenable to his theme, and to bypass those which were not. In short, they provide a quite effective means of controlling his material. This is especially important in a depiction of Christian eschatology, when the general sequence is already known, or when that sequence might prove sprawling and unmanageable, and in some cases, conflicting. With this device the poet can start and stop where and when he chooses, and still present an effective and coherent picture. The poet can then shape and limit his material, free of the burden of narrating every detail.

The poem then is distinctive for its dramatic structure, the consciousness of a single speaker, and an effective controlling and organizing device. Yet it is how well or how poorly these devices are used that determines a literary assessment. Central to a literary evaluation is the imbalance between two poetic modes, the dramatic and the narrative-descriptive. The more the latter predominates, the more we feel the poet is a poor manager of his parts, or, worse, that the dramatic is simply a gambit.

Section 2. Analysis and Commentary, *Invocatio* and Exhortation, Ll. 1-91

The poem opens with a carefully organized preamble or *invocatio*[7] before the dramatic situation, the addressing of the self begins. The first nine lines describe the scene and the occasion. The remaining lines (14-25) carefully delineate the speaker's reasons for the poem, which reasons become the organization of the poem.

The first nine lines are realistic, and in their convincing detail we sense the actuality of the situation. The scene so described catches our attention, and it is not surprising that of all the sections of the poem, these lines have received the most critical attention. Critics generally note the realism of the scene. Wardale, for example, finds the poem of interest "because of the unusual nature passage with which it begins and which shows a new spirit coming into O. E. literature, a spirit faintly foreshadowed in the Seafarer, but not fully developed till Middle English. It is quite distinct from the exotic treatment of nature as seen in translations like the Phoenix."[8] So too is the comment about the corresponding lines of the Latin, by Eleanor Shipley Duckett, "It is summer-time in England, and the poet is sitting in a meadow full of flowers, under the shade of a great tree. As the wind

awakes music among its branches, he, too, sings, of the life hereafter, the old familiar story he has told so often."[9] On the other end of the critical spectrum, Bernard Huppe devotes fifteen pages to a symbolic reading of these nine lines, concluding that the Garden of Eden is represented symbolically.[10]

There is something about these lines that catches and holds the attention. Perhaps it is their realism which contrasts with the near-abstraction of what might be termed the "specifically vague" that characterizes the rest of the poem. Then too, coming at the beginning of the poem, the scene is etched sharply and clearly. The individual sitting within a wood hearing the running streams, seeing the flowers blowing, hearing the trees rustling in the wind--the entire scene seems real, tangible, and quite convincing. The place, though not identified, strikes us as real, and so too the speaker.

Then the peace and pleasantness of the scene are shattered by some turbulence which disturbs both the sky and the mind of the speaker. The Old English here is quite effective for the terseness of expression, and one of the stylistic features of this poem--the near rhyme gehrered-gedrefed--underlines the causality and the sequence. Anticipating the coming dialogue, min

earme mod was, we are told, disturbed. This conclusion, narrowing in upon the self, also suggests the dialogue will be internal.

The effectiveness of the next section, ll. 10-25, contrasts sharply with the first nine lines. Here in sixteen lines the organization of the poem is given; but the whole effect is to undercut or at least diminish the reality and the immediacy of the first scene. The event is recounted in retrospect, and the ic recounting this action will have a moral point to make. However, the immediacy of the event is certainly sacrificed here while the speaker carefully delineates his mental state, that is, what he thought of in the midst of the storm. We notice no attempt on his part to explain why the wind storm occasioned the dramatic outburst. Rather he is mindful of his sins, and the long time, the coming of dark death upon the earth. Then is recounted his fear of the coming Judgment, the ire of the Judge, and the division and Judgment of all mankind. Such thoughts suggest as a natural consequence the joys of the saved and the pains of the damned. Such thoughts also prove to be the topics of his poem, to be elaborated in each of the three following sections.

Attention should be called to some characteristics that will reappear throughout the poem. The first is

the progressive widening of the speaker's vision. In ll. 10-16 his vision is personal; it is his sins and misdeeds and his own judgment that occupy his thoughts. Then in ll. 17-25 his vision expands to include all of mankind. In the Judgment and the Hell sections this expansion from the individual to the general will again be seen. In this way the ic, though never individualized, is not content to deal with his own fate exclusively, but is ever mindful that he is part of a larger whole, so that if he is Everyman, he is, also, Mankind. We shall return to this point again when we discuss the depiction of the speaker. But now we should stress that in this "double vision" there is something of a conflict that undercuts the general effectiveness of the poem. If the whole point is the individual's sins, judgment, reward or punishment, if the stress is--as the opening scene would suggest--upon the individual as an individual, then considerations of mankind in general seem oddly out of place.[11]

Before a discussion of the translation, we should call attention to another stylistic trait of the Old English poet. In this second part of the invocatio we notice that he likes short, compact sentences for his ideas. Here in the Latin, commemorans is the controlling

verbal form for six lines (6-11) which are translated by four individual sentences: (1) ll. 10-14; (2-a compound sentence) ll. 15-16 and 17-20; (3) ll. 21-23; and (4) ll. 24-25. In this instance, he begins each with ic, the effect being a certain monotony and repetition of expression, especially at the last where ic appears three times in two lines. Perhaps the intended effect was to emphasize the individuality of the speaker, to make us more aware of him and the actuality of the incident. The actual effect, especially at the last, is a certain clumsiness. Yet in the main his syntax is clear, except for ll. 17-20, and he does hold his ideas in manageable units. Later we shall notice instances where the syntax is rather clouded, where the longer sentence does not always hold together. In each case too the Latin verbal is a participle.

We now turn to a comparison of the Latin and the Old English, first for significant omissions and additions, and secondly, for the general arrangement of the Old English, and thirdly, for the general effect of each.

The Latin depicts the opening scene in three hexameters:

> Inter florigeras fecundi cespitis herbas,
> Flamine ventorum resonantibus undique ramis,
> Arboris umbriferae maestus sub tegmine solus, . . .

a scene which is rendered by nine lines in the Old English. As Löhe notes,[12] the usual ratio between the two poems is two lines for each hexameter, so we should expect some significant additions here. In some cases the Old English poet simply amplifies or repeats ideas to complete his line, but here there are significant additions and deletions.

The most significant change concerns the Latin "tree." In the Old English, the tree is not specified, being enlarged to a grove, a bearwe. Also there is no direct statement about shade; we can infer shade from the phrase mid helme bebeht, (2a) but this expression, "covered with foliage, or tree tops" does not express "shade" explicitly. Tho the ambiguity of helme is intriguing, and rather than "shade" the major suggestion is "protection or security." The ominous suggestion of the shady tree of the Latin, the arboris umbriferae[13] is simply not present in the Old English. There is nothing of the sinister, nothing of the Latin's suggestion that this speaker is already dead, or already in a kind of death, living now in a shade or shadow of an ominous character.

The Latin maestus is not translated. In the Latin the speaker is sorrowful from the first, and the causal relationship is not clear. We are not told whether the sorrow was antecedent to the wind's blast or caused by

it. The Old English suggests that until l. 9 the speaker is happy and at ease, enjoying his sojourn in the woods, and is then caught by surprise by the sudden turbulence.

The flowers which figure prominently in the Latin, the inter florigeras by which the Latin poem was identified, is not translated directly. The Old English wynwyrta which approximates the Latin, does not translate "flowers" but "plants." Too this hapax legomenon adds to the general peace and tranquility of the scene with its suggestion of "joy" or "delight." The fecundi cespitis with its suggestive contrast to the sterility of the speaker is not translated, but is implied in the weoxon and bleowon but without the strong suggestion of a contrast.

The Old English poet has made some noticeable additions, the first being the wæterburnan that he hears. Like the earlier wynwyrta we have again another hapax legomenon. Additions of this kind, which have no remote justification in the Latin, are very few. Huppe, noting this addition and the fact of the plurality of the rivers, looks at once to the Biblical Eden. But the water and the tree are to be found elsewhere, as we shall explain in the notes. On the most literal of levels, it seems quite consistent to add the water to complete the scene. But to admit a host of symbolic readings,

especially those which would equate each detail with some Biblical scene, is of very limited value. First the scene is so brief, and as mentioned before, the sense of the concrete is so soon lost, that to see the scene as existing solely for its suggestive power, to ignore the surface to look for the kernel, accomplishes very little and ignores very much.

Such interpretations, I feel, have validity or more important, usefulness only when they are important to our understanding of the poem itself. In this poem, we are never allowed to return to this scene, nor is it mentioned again. The speaker does not move, or come to see or understand more of this scene. While it is true that in their generality these details may suggest certain traditional symbols and their Patristic elaboration, an awareness of this is not necessary. In Huppe's analysis, there is an implication that this opening scene is something akin to a crossword puzzle, that the meaning comes only to those who can translate the details. If, after translation, they add little or nothing to the meaning of the whole, they are useless. On the most literal of levels, the scene is clear and coherent.

Nor do we suggest that the scene should be ignored or taken solely as realistic, in the manner of Wardale

or Duckett. What we suggest is that the scene and especially the language should be studied and understood for itself, not for what it represents symbolically. In so doing, we shall note that the Old English poet, while remaining thoroughly clear and consistent on the literal level, has through his language foreshadowed the later depiction of the Last Judgment. In so doing, he demonstrated his poetic talent, for while remaining generally true to the Latin original, and observing the demands of Old English prosody and syntax, he has reshaped and rephrased the original into something subtly suggestive.

Besides the wæterburnan the poet adds other details which may be only implied from the Latin. The effect of such explanations is that we know something more about where the "I" is sitting in the Old English. We are told that he was sitting innan bearwe--within a grove--and holte tomiddes--in the midst of a grove. These synonyms, bearwe and holte, may, through elaboration, complete the lines, and throughout the poem there are many examples of such elaboration. Another example is on middan gehæge (4a). This phrase is again vague, for gehæge can mean either "meadow" or "enclosed place" or "garden." All we are told is that the wæterburnan are found there. If we take gehæge as meadow, then the rural scene is elaborated; if we stress the "enclosed,"

then the secrecy and concealment theme is elaborated. If "garden," then the hortus inclusus with all the attendant associations that image suggests.

The next elaboration in the Old English is l. 6, innon þam gemonge on ǣnlicum wonge. Here as in the above instances there is a tantilizing ambiguity, compounded, for the first noun has such odd referents, and the other such a wealth of referents, that any number of subsequent meanings are possible. Gemong can be a crowd, an assembly, the central idea being a bringing together or concentrating of things or persons. But if we select the more general "throng" or some such word, we are forced to supply an "of what" phrase.[14] Wonge is only less slightly ambiguous, meaning a simple "place," a "field" or "plain" and so referring to gehǣge or even "world." The adjective ǣnlicum means either "beautiful" or "singular." Finally the rhyme appearing here in addition to the wealth of referents suggests a certain self-consciousness of phrasing, as though the poet were calling attention to this line.

It might be well to summarize the ambiguity of these opening lines by offering a translation, listing the alternatives:

Lo I sat alone (with)in a grove

Covered with tops of trees in the midst of a wood
(protection)

There the streams sounded and ran

In the midst of a meadow all as I say.
(garden
enclosed space)

Also there delightful plants waxed and blossomed

(With)in a throng on a beautiful plain
(that throng of (field)
rivers or trees) (world)
(that assembly place)

However we translate and understand this brief but troublesome passage of six lines, it is evident that the Old English is quite different from the Latin. The hapax legomena, the general rearrangement, and the rhyme are some of the stylistic features that call attention to the passage. We are told more--but not much more--and the effect of the Old English is quite different from the Latin. We have a rather detailed picture of a solitary sitting and being conscious of, if not actually enjoying, the natural world about him. These details lend themselves to various symbolic or suggestive "readings" which, as discussed earlier, do not add much to our understanding of the poem. But more important, such readings ignore what the poet has done in his arrangement and his use of language. He has, while staying in the main faithful to the Latin, so arranged

and phrased certain details that the later Judgment scene is foreshadowed.

Let us note the parallels.

The speaker is characterized only as sitting alone; Christ later sits alone.

Mid helme beþeht is echoed by helme beweorðod.

The speaker amidst the trees; the Judge amidst the angels.

wæterburnan	the later river of fire with the pun on burnan-byrnan.
gehæge as enclosure	all lies open later
wynwyrta	all mankind (see epilogue)
ænlicum	"One" suggests all mankind will be gathered in one place. "Unique" is also relevant, for the Last Judgment occurs only once. As "beautiful" and "unique" ænlic may thus be ironic to the damned.
wong	"Plain" hence the reference to the eahgemearcas world.
the forest trees swaying and rustling	the sinners astifad so considered; the trees immobile and swaying suggest the innan bearwe, the speaker as a sinner among sinners.

The general implications of darkness and protection are all played upon in the later depictions.

The opening scene parallels and anticipates the later, actual Judgment. Thus when the "self" is addressed, it will be as though Christ were addressing him. Much of the first section of the poem will be a

Judgment in miniature, with the speaker as the interrogator, the self as the interrogated. Although the speaker can persuade, admonish, and threaten, the dramatic scene is like an interrogation. Like the later Judgment in which the sinner is depicted as silent and fearful before the Judge, in this first dramatic depiction there will be no reply. So too as an interrogation, the severity, the impatience of the speaker is understandable as he sits, Christ-like, in judgment.

There remain yet three differences to discuss. Though all of them are minor, each contributes to the singularity of the Old English. In the Latin we are told that the "I" spoke, tacito sub murmure, l. 12, but this is not rendered in the Old English. Perhaps this phrase did not lend itself to a formula, and its omission is not greatly missed. Yet the Old English here is needlessly repetitive and mechanical in its expression:

> Ic gemunde þis mid me and ic mearn swiðe,
> and ic murcnigende cwæd mode gedrefed
> (ll. 24-25).

The rendering of the Latin inamabile, l. 7, as langan in l. 14b is puzzling. There is no gloss or possible translation of langan as an equivalent for inamabile. Yet as the syntax shows, it was apparently meant to render it. Langan appears curiously in the manuscript. The -gan was later added, and according to

Dobbie,[15] by another hand, the suffix slanting obliquely over tid. The expression "the long time" is vague, and Kennedy's rendering, "the long hour,"[16] is certainly accurate and clear.

Most translators supply an "of" and thus connect this phrase with the following þæs dimman cyme deaðes on eorðan. But the syntax will not allow an additional "of" to be supplied. Nowhere in the poem is the time or the duration of the Second Coming suggested, and the tokens--the falling stars, the earthquakes, and the like--are so treated as to suggest their occurring in an instant. We can account for this "long time" as referring to the calamities that will, according to the Bible, appear before the immediate presages of the Second Coming, about which nothing is said in the later Judgment section. Another and attractive reading would be to relate this phrase with the much discussed year 1000 debate. The phrase might be considered as a deliberate attempt to forestall any possible misreading of the poem as suggesting the imminence of the Second Coming. Thus read, the line might be rendered "that long-acoming time." The question of the time of the Second Coming was the major concern in any discussion of the Last Judgment. From the Blickling Homilies and those of

Wulfstan, we know that the year 1000 was cited and elaborated upon from the pulpit. This puzzling rendering may be an attempt to emphasize that the time of the Second Coming is, and must be, unknowable.

The Latin here is easy to misread and misinterpret. Even if we grant that these remarks are dramatic, conceived from the consciousness of one sinner, and imply no authority, yet the sinner does not explicitly differentiate between his own death and the Second Coming, mortisque inamabile tempus, iudiciique diem horrendo examine magnum, implying that he expects to see the Judgment within his own lifetime. For a private individual such a view is neither right or wrong, and can be, again for the individual, salutary, for we are admonished to be ever watchful and vigilant. Should however such anticipation become widespread or harden into public dogma and verge upon the heretical, such implications as the Latin contained may have been deliberately corrected. It is of some interest that the only theological controversy in which Bede himself was involved had some connection with the Second Coming. His De Temporibus was misread as denying that Christ came in the sixth age of the world, and in a letter of defense to Plegwin, Bede tells of his anger when asked by the unlearned how

many years yet remain before the Second Coming.[17]

The final addition of the Old English, a rather slight one, is eall swylce þu cwæde, l. 12a. The reference of þu is not at all clear. Huppe in his analysis reads the line as suggesting that the sinner has heard the wind as the voice of God, recalling him to penance. Whitbread[18] notes that this line, while not translating anything in the Latin poem, does have a parallel in the appended prayer to Acca that marks the best Latin manuscripts, and verifies that Bede was indeed the author. But how the poet, or the copyist, got his lines so mixed up is not clear.

The line echoes and perhaps matches the earlier sentiment eall swa ic secge, l. 4a. This earlier line, read "all as I say," is in itself, though clear, uninteresting. The line further adds to the realism of the opening scene, as the poet again calls our attention to the fact that this experience happened to him. However, coming four lines after hwæt ic ana sæt this line is puzzling.

I suggest that the Old English poet in 4a is asserting his own authorship, and his own liberty as a translator and poet. Assuming the persona of Bede's Latin poem, the poet will, nonetheless, secge according to the demands of his own genius and Old English prosody.

Such implications are not immediately clear in the simple phrase. Yet this line, like the companion 12a, is not found in the Latin. If we understand the line as only filling out a verse, I think we do the poet no justice. There is at work here too a similarity of technique. Just as the suggestions of the opening scene only become apparent when we read the later Judgment scene, so too here eall swylce þu cwæde echoing the earlier completes it. Because of the influence of the prayer appended to the Latin, en, tua jussa sequens cecini tibi carmina flende, we tend to supply an infinitive to 12a, "all just as you said to do," but such an addition is both unjustified and unecessary. If the earlier 4a is an assertion of the Old English poet's individuality, this line, suggested by the Latin, is an assertion of his accuracy as a translator. The þu would be Bede himself, and the lines might be translated,

> Then I suddenly sad and fearful
> these savage verses raised with song,
> all the verses, just as you said them . . .

The invocatio over, the exhortative section begins and is continued for the next seventy-six lines. In this section the self is urged to prepare for the coming Judgment by repenting and preparing for it now, in his allotted time. This section is marked by the general alternation of sternness and encouragement as the self

is warned how fearful the Judgment will be and yet reminded that the right preparations will stand him well then.

The scene opens with a strong dramatic sense as the veins are addressed, l. 26a, exhorting them to tears while the "I" beats his breast and prostrates himself on the earth. Ll. 33-37, directly addressed to the veins, prepare for the later Christus medicus metaphor, tears suggesting a purgative effect. There is some slight confusion in 41a openum wordum which follows the address to the veins and a general commendation of weeping for one's sins. There is here the suggestion of oracular confession, but with no mention of the agency of the priest, the older and then known forms of confession are probably the reference.

These recommendations are then endorsed in ll. 43-65, in which the efficacy of Christus medicus is attested to and proved by the example of the Good Thief, St. Dismas.

It is in this section that the paraphrase of Mt. 12.20--arundinem quassatam non confringet, linum fumigans non exstinguet--itself a paraphrase of Is. 42.3--calamum quassantum non conteret, et linum fumigans non extinguet--appears, ll. 49-52. The verse has an appropriateness for the dramatic situation, the encouragement of the self.

The line testifies to the patience of Christ, and is understandable without any additional commentary. Yet this particular verse is quite obscure. Simply put, not many will readily recognize it as Scripture, including--apparently--the Old English scribe who wrote flæsc for fleax, Lumby the EETS editor, and the present writer.[19] The Patristic commentaries on this verse, either in Matthew or Isaiah, are relatively few. The historical interpretation, usually that the broken reed is the Jewish people and the smoking flax is the error of the Gentiles, has little significance here.[20] Yet the ease with which the reference--and we should note that in Isaiah, these are characteristics of the Messiah, and in Matthew, these lines are uttered by Christ Himself--is fitted into the situation suggests that, dramatically, the lines come readily to the mind of the speaker, and, of course, are familiar to the "self."

In the Patristic commentary there is a social or ethical interpretation that is of possible significance here, beyond the dramatic situation. St. Jerome and Bede himself both comment that he who fails to help the sinner breaks the reed and puts out the smouldering flax. This interpretation would have been especially

appropriate for the ecclesiastic. As suggested by Whitbread, the Latin poem may have been written upon the elevation of Acca to the episcopacy of Hexham in 709.[21] Accepting that suggestion, these lines then may have had some special significance to Acca; perhaps they may have been his episcopal motto. The origin of the episcopal motto, and the practice in eighth century England, I have been unable to trace. If not a motto, this Scriptural verse could well be an episcopal ideal.

The obscurity of these verses is further attested to by the misreading or insertion of animos for calamos in the Latin manuscript tradition which seems to have been followed by the Old English poet. Animos translates wanhydige mod (l. 50a). But the manuscript reads lini and we have to assume that here too was an emendation in the particular manuscript the poet used that suggested flæsc or that the poet--or copyist--deliberately chose flæsc for fleax. The poet may not have recognized the Scriptural allusion or he may have chosen to render the phrase freely, in a metaphor more useful to his design. "The tepid smoke of weak flesh" is certainly more intriguing than "the tepid smoke of flax" of the Latin, although the latter makes perfect literal sense. The wicks of their lamps were of flax.

The smoke contributes to the metaphor of sin as involving an inability to see, a mental blindness, that is finally defined in ll. 242-246. The smoke and fire suggest the fyr as well as the later fyrenlustum (l. 161b). That Christ will not quench the smoking flesh is so phrased in the Old English wætere gedwæscan to suggest, ironically, the later ræsct which sinners undergo, then not with wætere but with fire.

Section 3. Analysis and Commentary, Judgment Section, Ll. 92-175.

The second section of the poem, the Judgment, begins with a link and preamble, ll. 92-98. The speaker's emphasis shifts to the future, and in his final argument to the self to prepare for the coming Judgment, he notes three things: the punishment of the sinners, the fearfulness of the Judgment, and the forebeacn that will proclaim the Second Coming. Thus we are signaled that the first section, the exhortation, is now over, and this final argument which summarizes succinctly, is the transition from the now to the then. The phrase gemyne eac on mode in l. 92a which emphasizes the personal is balanced again with the generalized þe þara earma of l. 93a. Throughout the first half of this section this balance is maintained, but after the Judgment itself the fate of the damned is emphasized.

The Judgment section, ll. 99-175, is characterized by a rather careful organization. The three major ideas announced in the preamble are elaborated in reverse order, with the forebeacn the first discussed. In the second, the fearfulness of the Judgment is rather curiously treated, and the third and major focus is upon the punishment of the sinners.

The first section, ll. 99-110, describes the physical calamities that will announce the imminence of the Second Coming. These events, beginning with the

terrestrial and continuing with the celestial, are scarcely elaborated. The simple and somewhat bald statement of their occurrence is enough for the poet. Little attempt is made either to describe the fear these wonders will engender, other than eall manna mod miclum gedrefeð (l. 103b). The events are exclusively concerned with the physical world and are Biblical, yet no attempt is made to treat the human calamities which are detailed in the Bible.

There is an interesting addition in l. 108b, sona on morgen, which is not found in the Latin Astra cadunt rutilo et titan tenebrescit in ortu, l. 54. This addition is the only indication in either poem of when the Judgment will occur. This slight attempt to set up a timetable draws upon the tradition that the Second Coming will be at sunrise[22]--and by implication that Christ will come from the east.

These calamitous forebeacn noted, the actual coming of Christ is now described. His return is to be signaled by certain deaðbeacnigende tacn and troops of angels. The nature of these "tokens" is not at all discussed, but the adjective might suggest the earlier þæs cymeð dimman deaðes on eorðan, l. 14. These "tokens" will, however, only terrify the sinners, not kill them.

The actual coming of Christ is treated rather unusually. The involved sentence, l. 113-116, emphasizes the angels as much as the mæran metod. Christ is characterized as returning in mihte and þrymme. It is curious that there is here no mention of the cross, or some of the Gospel details, such as the lightning, the eagles, and the cloud.[23] Christ assumes the Judgment seat, his heahsetle, but neither the nature or the location of the seat is indicated. Certain details are given in the Latin, Ille sedens solio fulget sublimis in alto, which are not translated in the Old English. Rather than detail the Judgment seat, the Old English poet characterizes Christ as sigelbeorht and helme beweorðod suggestive of the earlier mid helme beþeht.

The Judgment proper is now described. The shift to we, l. 119a, reunites the speaker and the self, but also perhaps the whole of mankind. This is strongly suggested in the subsequent æghwanum, l. 120a, and gehwylc, l. 121a. The Latin rapimur is considerably weakened by the Old English brohte.

The narration of events is slightly interrupted here as the speaker turns to the self, urging him to remember how great will be fear then. Interestingly the Old English poet has combined the individual and the general here, ic bidde man þæt þu gemune, l. 123a.

The interruption here at this point is quite effective for recapturing the dramatic sense at this crucial moment. Too the suspense is heightened, and even more, the sudden shift to the self directs our attention away momentarily from the background and toward the individual. Notice again the individual merges immediately with the general, hergea mæst.

The next event detailed is, at first glance, somewhat puzzling. The remainder of the angels arrive and surround the Judge; these are not characterized as were the earlier as astyred. Thereupon the great command is given and the whole of mankind, except for those already assembled, are brought forward to stand Judgment. This matter of the two part assembly of mankind is a following of the Nicene Creed, the living and the dead. As was mentioned in the earlier commentary, the speaker here expects to see the Second Coming within his own lifetime, for he counts himself as being part of the first assembly, those still alive at the time of the Second Coming. But then in the general resurrection, ll. 130-134, there is mention of a future generation, ll. 131b-132a. There is no attempt in the poem to account for or elaborate this apparent contradiction. We might account for this

contradiction by citing Cook's comment that the Old English had no sense of architectonics.[24] Their forte was in the elaboration of detail, especially spectacles, to the detriment of the general organization. In this instance, however, there is no elaboration, but a simple statement of fact. In both the Latin and the Old English the contradiction appears, and in the latter, it is even more overt. The Latin compression, qui sunt, qui fuerant, fuerint vel quique futuri, l. 67, is elaborated here, not in two lines, but in four:

> þe on foldan weard feded æfre
> oððe modar gebær to manlican
> oððe þa þe wæron oððe woldon beon
> oþþe towearde geteald wæron awiht.

We see the first two lines as an accurate, yet distinctive translation of the Old English poet. But then why he followed this with a literal and interlinear elaboration is not difficult to understand. We have here a rhetorical spectacle, as the doctrinal point is hammered home in four short, percussive oððe clauses. The conflict between the dramatic and the narrative is more important to a modern critic than it was to an Old English audience.[25] At this point the poet's main concern is narrating the events of the Last Judgment and the dramatic frame of his poem has been forgotten or sacrificed to make this doctrinal point.

The Judgment itself, ll. 135-144, is treated in only ten lines, but the effect of these lines is not to highlight the strictness of the Judgment or the spectacle so envisioned--these are rather simply narrated--but is to give a partial and metaphorical definition of sin. The focus of these lines is subtly upon the present, and in the Old English, we see again the singular use of vocabulary and phrasing at work:

> eal þæt seo heorte hearmes geþohte
> oððe seo tunge to teonan geclypede
> oððe mannes hand manes gefremede
> on þystrum scræfum þinga on eorðan.

Developed by repetition is the metaphor of sin as blackness and the sinner as hiding in blackness that is now revealed in the dægtide. The þystrum scræfum we have seen before as heortscræfe and the skillful and effective repetition of l. 139 recalls with added emphasis mandædum minum on eorðan. This definition of sin is then elaborated, ll. 141-144, with an emphasis on shame and then secrecy, concluding, þæt man lange hæl echoing the characterization of Christ se ana mæg gehælan. The depiction of the Judgment here, the revealing of all to all, conflicts with the earlier remark to the tongue, l. 73, that implied some kind of oral confession. The Judgment as actually depicted is oddly silent, and there is no mention of any oral action. Instead the sins of each are revealed and the verdict is obviously self-evident.

There is no individual declaration and no individual verdict mentioned. This contradiction, unlike the other, is not immediately obvious because of the separation of the scenes. Further, the earlier remark is dramatically useful, exhorting the tongue to pray now by reminding it of its later role.[27]

The Judgment over, attention is now exclusively on the plight of the damned. The avenging fire which fills the sky sweeps down upon mankind. To this point we have no mention of the saved. This fire exists solely to torment and afflict the wicked. It is specifically said that there will be no trial by fire, but that the fire will bypass those and only those who come to the Judgment already cleansed. Nor is it stated that this fire will be the agent destroying the universe. Unlike the passages in Crist III, the fire only torments. The post-Judgment scene, despite the spectacle and awesomeness of the universal fire, is a depiction and analysis of the damned.[28]

For a poem entitled Judgment Day II this section is both puzzling and exceptional. It is typical of the entire poem by being characterized by a "specific vagueness." Events are enumerated but only with the barest of detail. There is no elaboration, no detailing

of events or description. This fact is quite surprising for it is specifically these events that have been minutely and elaborately detailed in the Christian poetry. The austerity of the depiction of this Judgment scene is quite singular.

At each point in the complex of ideas and events that mark the Last Judgment, be it the forerunners, the appearance of Christ, the Judgment and verdict, the resultant condemnation and punishment of the damned, the wealth of detail and speculation from the Patristic tradition has been reduced and narrowed to the barest essentials. In its place, the emphasis has shifted to the torments of the damned. What is surprising is that there is no mention of the fate and nature of the saved. It is mentioned that the <u>eadig</u> too will be subject to the avenging fire, that the fire will not cleanse, but punish, and that no one should feel confident before the Judge--otherwise there is no elaboration of the blessed. Instead of a thorough and complete depiction, the Old English poem elaborates two points: that all men will be present at the Judgment, ll. 131-134, and that sin, in its various forms is characterized by secrecy and shame, graphically seen as a metaphorical blackness. This blackness can be the protection afforded

by the concealment of helme beþeht, the place of sin, the þystrum scræfum of its occurrence or the heortescræfe of its record, all of which is revealed paradoxically, in the blackness of that dægtide. Nor is the metaphorical definition of sin completed. We shall await its most succinct definition in the Hell section, where the blackness of sin is revealed as a spiritual blindness, a failure to see.

The elaboration through metaphor of a definition of sin is the major interest of the poem, and serves to connect the first three sections. But we notice here too that this definition is on the level of simple assertion. In the final revelation at the Judgment, nothing is elaborated. How this is to be done, what men will look like, what sin will look like--such questions are not discussed. We miss here the familiar book of conscience image.[29] This scene is as little visual as possible. Once the physical fact of these events and personages is stated, the poet stops. The entire scene is as abstracted as possible, yet attesting to the fact that these future events are real, and will be experienced physically and sensuously.

This scene is however quite effectively organized. Partly its effectiveness is accountable to the rapid

movement of the action. In just eighteen lines, the physical facts of the Second Coming are narrated; the omens and forerunners have been narrated, and Christ is on His Judgment seat. The remaining sixty lines are focused on the sinners and their plight. But while the movement is fast and the expression generally economical, so that our attention is not allowed to linger on any one detail, the narration is monotonous. Here the Old English poet overworks ðonne and eac. Too many of the events are coordinated, and little is subordinated. The suddenness and simultaneity of these events suggested by the stark and simple assertion is undercut by the limited and overworked vocabulary. Eac appears four times, and ðonne eleven. This overuse of ðonne is apparent, for in each instance but one, l. 158a, the word begins a sentence or clause, appearing first in the on-verse. The Latin tunc is buried in the hexameter, and here we may note again a basic difference in the prosodic systems, a difference which the Old English poet was unable or unwilling to resolve. Here also the ratio of Old English lines to Latin hexameters combines with the overuse of ðonne to undercut the terseness of the Latin and the suggestion of speed and simultaneity.

Finally we should call attention to the overall passivity of this scene. It is essentially static, especially in the last part where the sinners are rooted, stone-like, while the avenging fire pours over them. In this the scene is like the first which too is essentially passive. The self does not move during its interrogation. In the opening scene stress is on the wind as the only active element, and all else reacts to it. This sense of the static will contrast sharply with the next section, the depiction of Hell. In this contrast there is a suggestion that confidence and security in this life is an illusion, another failure to see.

Section 4. Analysis and Commentary, Hell Section, Ll. 176-246.

The narration of the events of the Last Judgment is suddenly interrupted at l. 175; the last we see of the damned is their standing stone-like awaiting the fire to pour over them. The speaker suddenly returns us to the present by addressing the flesh, asking it what it will do then, and what it is doing now. The suddenness of the interruption, the series of four questions and one near curse, all addressed to the flesh, and the repetition of "you" nine times in seven lines--all combine to make this the most dramatically effective link in the poem. The sudden shift from the future to the present does not jar, for the contrasting sensations of the flesh of the future and the present bind together the scenes. So too, the final scene of those run through with fear is generalized and the "you" by this sudden dramatic interruption is put among the damned by contrasting his sensations now with those he will later feel. The final question of why he does not now fear the fyrene egsan of l. 181b and the swidlice witu of l. 182b links most effectively the preceding Judgment section and the following Hell section.

This repetition and concentration on the "now" and the "you" in its vigor of expression and dramatic

value also cuts off the narration of the Last Judgment. The actual sentencing of the damned is not depicted, for the next we see of them they are already in Hell. Likewise the fate of the blessed and the destruction of the universe are neatly and quite effectively by-passed. We are not allowed to think about such matters, so quickly and effectively is the transition and highlighting of the self in these nine lines. So too the preamble to the Hell section, with the typical statement that its nature cannot be described or comprehended, follows naturally in one sweep.

This link is certainly a method of concentrating on the fear of the sinner and sin by quickly but pointedly focusing on the present and then as quickly moving on to the punishment of sinners. As we shall note, the Hell section and the Judgment section are alike in their generality, the central difference being that the punishments described in the Judgment section are elaborated and expanded. Thus a good portion of the poem is concerned with narrating the punishments of sinners, ultimately to make the self so uncomfortable as to repent and amend. Yet it is only in the Hell section that the sins of this life and the final and complete definition of sin are

elaborated, with its focus equally on the present and the eternal. That much of the depiction of Hell is foreshadowed in the Judgment section, and continues and completes what is earlier specified there suggest that these two serve the same end, to define sin and show how much of the present exemplifies the future through metaphor. With this suggestion we can understand the singularity of the Judgment scene: the lack of elaboration of the physical calamities, of the Second Coming, even of the Judgment itself, and, most important, the emphasis upon the plight of the damned.

So too in the Hell section we shall see the emphasis fall upon the psychological torments of the damned. The organization and the arrangement of details of this section have much in common. In each the mental distress is emphasized. In the Hell section, the psychological torments are subtly linked to the present with an elaboration of the sins and joys of this world, capped off with a final definition and depiction of sin as a whirling of the mind now, that whirls the damned beneath blind and bitter flames then. Further we may point out the ultimate fate of the universe is not a part of the Judgment section.

We are told only that the sky will be filled with flames that will pour forth in torrents upon mankind. The poem does not discuss the ultimate fate of the universe, as attention turns in this link to the present.

There is a suggestion, through the repetition of phrasing and detail, that the scene of the Judgment is the scene of Hell. In neither case is the location specified. The details of Hell that are not implicit in the earlier scene are surprisingly few: stench, pitch, cold, torturers. These, however, like the physical calamities that announce the Second Coming, are narrated first, and with little elaboration. What is depicted is the psychological torment of the damned, their privations that in their enumeration always look back to the present, and finally, the last and completing definition of sin. The effect, we suggest, is to link together the Judgment and Hell sections, and because in the Judgment section the opening scenes are implied and suggested, to link all three together. In spite of all the physical calamities and torments that upon first reading loom so large in the second and third sections, on the metaphorical level there is an implication, so familiar to modern literature, that Hell is essentially internal and is being experienced or foreshadowed now, though we do not realize it. But

quite unlike the modern view, the poem insists that there is a Hell and that it can be avoided by visualizing it.

Our first picture of Hell is a place of extreme hot and cold, and this state is reiterated, ll. 194-196, by describing the effect upon the damned, the weeping eyes and the chattering teeth. This ordering contrasts with the next feature described in ll. 197-200 wherein the damned are said to wander amidst night and boiling pitch. The state of the damned is further delineated in two contrasting sections, first of external torments and then of internal. In both we note a singular difference between the Latin and the Old English. In the Latin the effect of the depiction is to suggest to the self--and to the reader--that it is happening to him. This effect is achieved by a marked terseness of expression and, more important, the use of passive, singular constructions, cernitur, l. 101, sentitur, l. 102, and implebitur, l. 104.

The Old English does represent these passive constructions accurately, but it must use a periphrastic form. Of note is the dilution of the Latin sentitur, rendered in l. 205b as gemeted. Likewise the passivity of the Latin fetor . . . complet . . . nares, l. 103,

is lost in the Old English rendering hy . . . ne magon. The Old English scene becomes something we watch; the Latin suggests that we are experiencing it. Nor is this difference limited to this part of the Hell section. In the Latin the damned soul seen at a distance is usually singular, and for the close view, there is a passivity that suggests the listener may experience these torments. The Old English loses this dramatic effect by depicting the damned in the plural. (So too the first picture in the Latin, the volvuntur is rendered wendad.)

Attention is now turned to the mental state of the damned, the Old English agreeing with the Latin in depicting a single soul. Here again the Latin torquetur is rendered actively by the doublet breged and swenced. The organization of this section dealing with the mental and psychological torments is quite effective for its suspense and summary techniques. The damned first realizes what it is that put him in this prison, the Latin caro luxurians rendered fyrngende flæsc . . . synna gewrohte in ll. 215a-216b. The pains of the damned are then reiterated and summarized, both the external torments, deprivations, and the internal torments. This summary is a panoramic view of the whole of Hell, the image of souls in

flames running in this carcere caeco rendered on blindum scræfe. Then, as though turning inward, the vices of this life, the caro luxurians, cease and are enumerated. Then in the concluding lines of the section the final depiction of sin plunging the damned in blind flames is given, but with it we have a definition of sin in the present, the plunging of the mind in a whirling of blindness. In so doing the present, past, and future, as well as the parts of the poem, are all united.

This depiction of the torments of the damned, beginning with the mental and ending with the physical, demonstrates a marked ability to organize and unify in a succinct statement. In this final Hell scene, the first three sections of the poem--the now, the then, and the ever--are brought together and, in this definition of sin, fused.

Only in Hell, paradoxically that black prison, does the sinner come to see, to understand the effect of sin. The understanding that he himself has merited these pains, is perhaps--the Latin here reads insuper; the Old English ufenan eall þis--his greatest torture. The cause of his torment, the noxious joys of this life have ceased--but only as joys. They now whirl the sinner into the blind flames, just as they whirled

the mind into blindness in this life.

In this contrastive image, the now and the ever are united. So too the mental and physical torments. The understanding brings its own torment, and the memory of sin brings forth its own tormentor. Sin, objectified and concrete, becomes the agent and the cause of personal torment. This image, going beyond mere regret, emphasizes that we make our own Hell, and by the contrast of the now and the ever, be it here or elsewhere.

Here is the climax of the poem. The sinner, the self, is made to see the true nature of his state. The thrust of this last scene is ever to the present. The depiction of Heaven which follows occupies only some twenty-five lines in the Latin, and some sixty in the Old English. Coming after this climactic picture of sin, it suffers in comparison to the Hell section. This climactic depiction of sin suffers too in the Old English translation, and a careful analysis of the two will show why.

The most striking difference between the two versions is the personification of the noxious joys in the Old English. The eleven vices of the Latin catalogued in three hexameters, ll. 118-120, are reduced to seven specific vices, the rest implied. But

more important is their personification; they are seen passing into the darkness of Hell. In this scene, the Old English poet is at his most original and shows a touch of humor as

> and hleahter and plega hleopaƀ ætsomne

and

> and se earma flyhƀ uncræftiga slæp
> sleac mid sluman slincan on hinder.

But in this striking and original depiction, much of the force of the Latin is lost. There the catalogue of vices has a startling effect: they seem to loom up before the sinner, confronting him, and finally whirling him into the blind flames. In effect, the Latin implies the sins follow and chase the individual. All of this is lost in the Old English. There the personified vices are seen leaping or slinking into the darkness. This originality makes for some confusion in the rendering of the climactic passage in the Latin, ll. 121-123:

> Illicitat quicquid modo delectatio carnis
> et caeca scelerum mergit vertigine mentem,
> Tunc caecis merget flammis sine fine misellos.

These hexameters are rendered in five lines in the Old English, and the rendering, while accurate, has not the contrastive yet unifying force of the original.

> Ðonne blindum beseah biterum ligum
> earme on ende þæt unalyfed is nu,
> leofest on life lað biƀ þænne,
> and þæt werige mod wendaƀ þa gyltas
> swiƀe mid sorgum and mid sargunge.
> ll. 242-246

The inverted syntax of the first sentence does emphasize the sinner's sinking and makes his fate one with the vices of this life. The image of sinking of the Old English is not the merget of the Latin. The then-now contrast, so strongly emphasized in the Latin by the contrastive verbs, mergit-merget, and made part of the image, is simply an assertion in the Old English, leofest on life lad bid þonne. The final climactic line of the Latin differs considerably too. In the Old English it is only the mind, the mod, that is turned and the contrast of the Latin, the plunging of both body and mind, is not present. The final line of the Old English is an addition that further depicts the sinner, but adds nothing to the depiction of sin. What is not found is the depiction of sin now, in the present, and in this failure, the unifying and climactic power of the Latin is lost. In the Old English our gaze is on the ever.

It is difficult to explain the faulty translation here, especially the failure to define sin and contrast the now and the ever. Possibly ll. 121-122 were missing or scrambled in the manuscript he used, and we simply do not have the evidence for it. He does render l. 123 well, but the phrase, þæt unalyfed is nu suggests he had the sense of the Latin l. 121. Possibly too, l. 244

is not his but a later insertion, but this is only conjecture. Against it, we might note the same fused syntax that marked ll. 7-9. Perhaps more likely is his failure to realize the thematic and structural force of the Latin. We have noted that the Old English poet can be interlinear at times, even to the syntax, for a possible doctrinal point and at others for no apparent reason. He here has reordered and omitted certain parts of the Latin. He has lost much in accuracy and effect, and has gained very little. Unlike the opening scene, where his reordering and additions would have a distinctive aesthetic effect, here his singular rendering does not echo or recall earlier scenes. But these considerations may simply not have occurred to him.

The depiction of Hell is typical of the spirit of the poem. We see the same generality as all the inhabitants of Hell are lumped together and suffer the same penalties. As in the Judgment section, the attention of the reader is never allowed to rest on particulars. Of the punishments, the physical seem at first glance to be the more vivid. But what seems more vivid and memorable is not in any way detailed. The nature of the worms, the identity of the torturers--such details are never made clear. Like the depiction

of presages of the Second Coming, the fact of their presence is enough.

Their vividness is only apparent. Compared to the other medieval visions and depictions of Hell this one is rather curious. First the physical dimensions are not attempted. We conclude from such details as grunde, blindum scræfum, the welling pitch, that Hell is a plain with holes and covered to some extent with a liquid-like substance. Its location and dimensions are not elaborated. Then too the physical tortures are curiously treated. Usually these are detailed more than we meet here. Beyond attesting to their presence and the fact of physical torture, the poem does not go. Like the Judgment section, the physical is attested to with the minimum detail, and the interest and emphasis is upon the psychological and mental torment.

Finally a word should be said about the remarkable control the poet exercised in organizing this section. Bede was faced with a twofold problem here; to present a unified and coherent picture of Hell and a definition of sin. All of this had to be done through narration. In the main he has done a remarkable job. The division between the physical and the mental torments is gapped by a narrative analysis of the individual soul. In his

final elaboration of sin, he carefully unites in a brief description all the tortures of Hell. In his final definition, as the sinner is cast into the flames, he once again unites the mental and the physical. This section could easily have been fragmented, and somewhat confusing. His organization and careful recapitulation prevents that. We first see the damned being whirled--the Latin volvuntur rendered wendad in the Old English--amid flame, cold and pitch; then the physical torments of one of the damned are described; and finally, the mental, with the final depiction uniting both. Here again the personification of the Old English poet is at variance with the Latin. The movement of the Latin is from the general to a depiction of the singular, who in the climax, merges into the general--the misellos, l. 123. But the personified abstractions distract and scatter the emphasis.

Section 5. Analysis and Commentary, Heaven Section, Ll. 247-306.

The fourth and final section of the poem is a depiction of Heaven. The first noticeable thing about this section is the absence of a dramatic link. The dramatic sense of ll. 247-253 is very dim indeed. Unlike the other links, these lines do not seem addressed to one person, the self. Instead the speaker in his utterance seems to be saying a prayer. It may be that dramatically these lines suggest the "self" is in a state of shock after a vivid depiction of Hell, that he is incapable of being addressed. Also after such a vivid depiction of Hell and its torments, there is literally nothing more to be said. To turn to the self would then be fatuous. One is tempted to see in this link a suggestion that the conflict between the speaker and the self is now ended in reconciliation, but following the depiction of Heaven the poem concludes with the speaker addressing himself though with less harshness.

The long characterization--some twenty-eight lines in the Old English--of Heaven that introduces this section contrasts the two states. The negatives look back to the Hell section, especially the crackling of flames and the various mental distresses. Though the list forms two contrasts, one negative and one positive,

we do not sense the same organizational power at work here that we did in the preceding section. The qualities are ordered, but they are so all-encompassing as to be tedious and somewhat puzzling. Heaven as well as the inhabitants are characterized here, for the catalogue ranges from night through poverty with a good deal of the natural elements in between. This catalogue in its very generality may mirror the speaker's rapture or enthusiasm, yet the clear division into negatives and positives is too ordered to suggest rapture. Whatever the intention, the physical qualities are here treated, leaving the depiction proper to deal with the social.

The Old English rendering of this catalogue contrasts sharply with the rendering of a like list in the Hell section. There we have seen that he shortened the list and personified the abstractions. In the Heaven section, the entire catalogue of the negative qualities is rendered faithfully, but because Old English prosody does not admit a series of nouns in the way a Latin hexameter will, the poet is hard pressed to include them all without being monotonous. The positive qualities, some fourteen in the Latin, ll. 135-137, are reduced to nine in the Old English, though we have a missing off-verse in l. 270.

The literalness, the interlinear quality of this rendering is puzzling. It may be that he could come up with no solution. We have noticed in the Hell section that the Old English is a narration marked by movement and action, and the Latin is essentially a depiction, a tableau. In this catalogue, he may have had no way to enliven the material or endow these abstractions with action. The Hell section afforded a scene, and it is there that the abstractions interact with the scene. But here, poverty and the rest cannot go jumping away. Any question of a certain unseemliness or lack of decorum in treating Heaven is best answered by comparing this section with the actual depiction of Heaven that follows. There we notice that he has again enlivened a tableau by introducing action. We may conclude then that in the literal rendering of this catalogue the poet acceded to the translator.

In the depiction of Heaven itself, the Old English poet asserts himself by adding material and reshaping the Latin. It is interesting to compare the different treatments of what is essentially the same problem: rendering the Latin catalogues. The earlier catalogue of nouns is rendered literally, and somewhat tediously, but when faced with a like catalogue of verbs, the

Old English poet changed his course. Here is the tableau of Heaven that he had to translate:

> Insuper omne bonum cunctis Deus ipse ministrat
> Semper adest praesens, cunctos fovet, implet, honorat,
> Glorificat, servat, veneratur, diliget, ornat,
> Collocat altithrona laetosque in sede polorum.
> ll. 138-141

Theoretically, this could have been rendered in the same fashion as the noun catalogue was, and it would have been much easier. These verbs could have easily been strung out with and which the poet often does throughout the poem. However, here he rearranges and organizes according to his own critical sense and his awareness of Old English idiom. Also he has taken the liberty in ll. 279-281a of adding the person of Christ as the distributor of honors and rewards, as he had done earlier in l. 272b. God the Father, mentioned as adorning the blessed, receives little prominence.

There follows a depiction of Heaven and its inhabitants, ll. 284-300. Unlike the inhabitants of Hell, those of Heaven are categorized: present are the angels, the saints, the patriarchs, the prophets, and the apostles. In addition to being specified, there is also a suggestion of their number, the saints being in heapum and þreatum. Nowhere in the Hell

section is there any suggestion of the magnitude of the damned. Heaven is briefly characterized as a shining kingdom of many cities, adorned everywhere with red roses. The depiction ends with a triumphal march of a virginal band led by Mary. The Old English is exceptional with a rather elaborate and extended four-line paean of Mary, ll. 292-295, suggested by but extending the Latin alma Dei genetrix, pia virgo Maria. These closing lines of the Heaven section, ll. 290-300, attest to the Old English poet's ability to construct rather elaborate and intricate syntactical units.

The poem concludes with the final link, ll. 301-306, in which the dramatic sense is regained briefly. There is no overt or explicit reference to the opening scene of the solitary within his bearwe. The self is asked what can be considered hard in this life compared to the joys one might enjoy in Heaven. Oddly there is no indication of the mood or the state of the "you" but we may consider him convinced.

The depiction of Heaven is less specific than that of Hell. The bliss depicted here, free of all physical and spiritual distresses, represents a stasis, a final resting. The contrast with Hell is suggested, character-

ized by unceasing movement and whirling, with never-ending distresses both physical and mental. The inhabitants of Heaven are physically present, but free of all physical wants and needs. We are told only that they are honored and adorned by God, and that they occupy a seat. This would approximate the beatific vision.

That Heaven itself is not elaborately described is surprising, for Bede did write a commentary on the Book of the Apocalypse. The simple, yet effective contrast between the darkness and agitation of Hell and the brightness and stasis of Heaven, the contrast between isolation and community, may have been enough. The climax of the poem is the final definition and dramatization of sin, and this short and contrastive depiction does not overshadow the climax. Hell does, however, for all its generality, seem more real. The description is couched in terms of reference that are sensuous and understandable. The depiction of Heaven, in terms that somehow slip beyond the grasp, is in a tradition stretching back to the final book of the City of God. As part of this tradition, the ultimate scriptural justification should be cited,

> Quod oculos non vidit, nec auris audivit,
> nec in cor hominis ascendit, quae praeparavit
> Deus iis qui diligunt illum.
>
> I Cor. 2.9

The vigor and detail, the length of the Hell section, even the preamble, might suggest that the poet was more interested in the avoidance of Hell than the gaining of Heaven. However, the Hell section is climactic; the Heaven section might be considered a prayer.

Section 6. Placing the Structure of Judgment Day II in a Spiritual Tradition

As we have noted in the introduction, the dramatic situation, the internalized action, the single consciousness all serve to set this poem apart from other Latin or Old English poems on this same general topic. Too the singular lack of detail and amplification in the Judgment, Heaven, and Hell sections calls attention to itself. These distinctive features we should try to account for in placing the poem in what might be called a tradition.

Such is the nature of the poem that a source study would not account for these distinctive literary features. The ideas are generally orthodox and traditional, and can be best handled in a note. However, in view of the wealth of speculation and discussion that accreted over the centuries at once so uniform in the main, but diverse in its details, the poem is again remarkable for its austerity of detail and description.[29] Then too we suggest that Bede the poet was under no obligation to include every aspect of Christian eschatology in his composition. The overall dramatic frame that most distinguishes this poem should be accounted for. The singular use of the dramatic situation, the links, whereby Bede could

shape and control his material, will follow, once we have established a tradition that will suggest first the dramatic, and then the self-dramatic structure.

We have already alluded to some parallels with the Soul-Body debate poems found in the Old English corpus. In these poems, we find the dramatic situation, but it is quite different from that of our poem. The soul chides the body of its sins, and to add to its further discomfort, the torments of the damned are graphically described and detailed. The action of these poems is always after death, the scene envisioned as some indeterminate state awaiting the final resurrection and Judgment. Dramatically the note of finality is emphasized, whereas in our poem the note of preparation in life is underlined. The details of the torments of the damned contrast strongly with the Hell section of our poem, and the details, for all their horror, never go beyond the physical to any definition of sin that characterizes our poem.

Of the Latin poetry treating this subject, only one is dramatic and has many parallels with the Bede poem. That is "de satisfactione poenitentiae" attributed to Verecundus.[30] Though there are many poems in the Latin treating the end of the world, they are

all narratives.[31] Generally the whole sequence of events is treated, including the fate of the damned and the redeemed, and usually with great detail and vividness. None however, with the exception of the Verecundus poem, are dramatic and conceived from the consciousness of a single speaker.

The Verecundus poem of 210 lines is divided into nine sections. The dramatic situation is not as sharply underlined as it is in the Bede poem. The "self" is not addressed; rather the poet dramatizes the anguish of the sinner in his inability to prepare for the Judgment. The exhortative section which takes up the first seven of the nine sections, forms a prayer for the grace of repentance. The drama is that of a sinner who is unable to repent but who realizes the need for it. In the Bede poem, the drama centers about reminding the "self" to repent and prepare now. Nor is there any opening scene in the Verecundus poem; it opens with a prayer for tears:

> Quis mihi moesta dabit lacrymosis imbribus ora
> Flendo cruentare, et jugiter lugubre fluentum
> Contritis sufferre genis, oculisque madentibus ora,
> Pectore compuncto, rugata fronte, rigare?

Though neither poem has a clearly defined speaker, the Verecundus poem achieves the sense of the indiv-

idual by having the speaker brought before the Judge at the conclusion of the poem. It ends on a note of despair as the speaker is confronted with his own life in testimony against him:

> Heu! tenebrae quales quantisque incursibus urgent!
> Tres mihi panduntur diverso ex ordine libri:
> Cunctum opus eloquiumque meum curaeque vagantes,
> Ante oculos veniunt, ipso me teste probanda.
> Arguor occultis proprio me dante reatu:
> Facta gravant curaeque homines et verba caducos.

"De satisfactione" ends abruptly at this point. The pains of the damned and the joys of the blessed are not described. Too the sequence of the Judgment is different in this poem. Here the fire which consumes the universe precedes the actual Second Coming and Judgment. Also this scene is described in greater detail and vividness than it is in the Bede poem. The whole of the seventh and eighth sections, some sixty-six lines, is devoted to depicting portents and the universal conflagration. The sweep of this detailed and vivid picture is reminiscent of the parallel scene in Crist III.

What is singular to the Bede poem then is the slight but significant adaptation of the traditional planctus, the outpouring of the sinners' lamentations, here represented by the Verecundus poem. The addressing of the self, in some kind of setting, and the re-telling

of an actual event make the Bede poem a different kind of planctus.

The element of personal revelation, the re-telling of an event in retrospect, does have a model or exemplar in the sermon literature, that could have been an inspiration to Bede. However, as will be explained in a moment, establishing the relationship has so far proved difficult, so that this discussion must be tentative. Yet such is the nature of the evidence that I feel that the proposal should be brought forward. Perhaps later researchers can find verification to establish this hypothesis.

The personal revelation that characterizes the poem may have been suggested by a like technique of Ephrem the Syriac. In at least two of the many sermons attributed to him, he begins by telling his audience of an incident that happened to him. In each the beginning of the sermon is marked by the same realism, the same concrete detail that characterizes the Bede poem. In one, Ephrem tells of traveling at night with two brother monks. The discussion turns to the wonders of the starry night, which for the Syrian saint recall the portents of the Second Coming. In a moment, he is prostrate, weeping for his sins and calling for divine clemency. Once this concrete and detailed opening is established, the movement, like our

poem, is toward the general. Other than the event, we can discern little revelation of the saint's life. He is a sinner, he is the sinner.

However, even more impressive for its parallels is the opening of the following sermon:

> Sedebam solus, tuto, & amoeno, ac sublimi quodam in loco: & inananes huiusce mundi sollicitudines, tumultus, perturbationesque; mecum ipse tacitus reputabam: considerans, quomodo vita nostra velut umbra pertranseat, & tanquam cursor velocissimus fugiat, ac matutini floris instar marcescat. Et cum dolore et gemitu dicebam: ignavia, & negotiis atque cogitationibus inutilibus distracti, quomodo seculum hoc pretereat, ignoramus. Haec mecum ipse cogitans, oculos in coelum sustuli, & stupore quodam affectus, tanquam extra me attonitus haesi, magnaque; formidine totus horrescens, cordis oculis Dominum summa in gloria sedentem vidi, & animam meam sic alloquentem: Cur, o anima coelestem thalamum tuum immensa lucis & gloriae pulchritudine illustrem, contemnis? Cur, sponsa mea, prosequeris me purissimum sponsum tuum atque immortalem? Cur ea despicis bona, quae ego tibi in lumine vitae praeparavi? Cur te a me per occupationes vanas, & turpes cogitationes alienasti? Cur o anima, cum omni studio & gaudio adventum meum sedula non expectas? Cur, cum lampade tua non vigilas, anima, vocem illam ut audias; Ecce sponsus venit, exite obviam ei cum laetitia? O anima cur decoram vestem ad nuptias tibi parare non festinasti? Cur cum gaudio in coelestem & sanctum thalamum non ingrederis? Cur odisti me, qui bonus sum, teque; a morte in vitam vindicavi?[32]

Here we note the same sense of the concrete and the same opening that mark the Bede poem. The solitary is seated somewhere in the real world. It is a place of some peace and natural beauty. Like the speaker of the poem, Ephrem turns his thoughts to the future, and

a vision ensues which occasions the dramatic outburst by Christ. Unlike the Bede poem there is no storm to frighten the speaker, but in each there is realization that time is fleeting by and the Judgment is coming closer. Also in each there is great care to delineate the state of mind of each speaker, what each considered before the dramatic section. In each too there are mentioned the shade and the flowers, but these are such common and general images that coincidence is probably at work here.

Ephrem's sermons, we suggest, offered a technique to Bede of beginning with a concrete event, an actual event happening to the speaker. This event, no matter how generalized, is later retold in a sermon or in a poem. Further the Ephrem sermon would suggest too the dramatic situation. The adjustment of speaking to the self is not part of the homily we quoted, but we should note that the event is internalized, and happens in the present without the aid of a vision or a dream.

Yet this homily, for all its parallels of technique and subject matter, can be only tentatively advanced as a source of the Bede poem. Such are the problems attendant upon an examination of the works and influence of Ephrem the Syriac, that I cannot say with any certainty that Bede was familiar with his works. The

problem is two-fold: to establish that this sermon, and others with the same technique, are genuinely the work of Ephrem, and then to establish that such works were known to Bede.

Here we will summarize briefly what work has been done on these problems, and from such a summary suggest even the likelihood of Bede's having known the Syrian's works.

Scholars have yet to establish the corpus of Ephrem's works. Apparently he became somewhat of a legend in the eastern Mediterranean, and many original compositions were attributed to him, especially in monastic circles. Thus scholars today distinguish three Ephrems: Ephrem Syriacus, Graecus, and Latinus. The sorting out and establishing the corpus has so far been restricted to works in Syrian. Here there is enough to do, for Ephrem was a hymnist, a theologian who made original contributions to eschatology and Christology, an exegete, and a homilist. It is in the latter category that we are at present interested. Here his works include sermons, homilies, dicta, and responsios. These are the works that proliferated in his name especially in Greek monastic literature.

In the sermons attributed to him, the Last Judgment was his especial interest. It seems that any and

all phases of Christian eschatology were utilized, but he is especially significant for original thinking on the avenging fire, and the location of Heaven.[33] As a homilist he has been cited by one critic for a sermon technique in which the members of the audience would engage in a dialogue with the homilist.[34] Such a technique is again indicative of a strong dramatic sense. Instances of such dialogue are to be found in the six genuine works attributed to Ephrem by Vincent of Beauvais in the twelfth century.

The least verifiable would be the Ephrem Latinus, simply because so much has been lost. His works have become mixed with the homilies of Caesarius of Arles, and seven citations are attributed to him in the Scintillarum liber,[35] a work of the late seventh or early eighth century.[36] In addition to the six works cited by Vincent of Beauvais, scholars would like to include manuscript evidence ranging from the seventh to the ninth century.[37] There is a sermon collection in an Anglo-Saxon manuscript, dated from between the eighth and ninth centuries, that was once thought to be Ephrem's but is now considered anonymous.[38] Such is the state of scholarship that to determine the authenticity of the sermon cited and to determine if it, or one like it, was known to Bede is impossible.[39]

Some research has been done into the influence of the Eastern writers--and Ephrem in particular--upon the descriptive passages dealing with the Last Judgment in the Old English corpus. Here the central work is the monograph by Gustav Grau in which the Old English and the Eastern works are compared in parallel passages.[40] Since the Bede poem is marked by a surprising sparseness of detail, the poem is not discussed by Grau. Using admittedly imperfect texts, Grau does build a convincing case, especially with the works of Cynewulf, that would seem to go beyond just coincidence. Yet in this case, where one homily, translated into Latin in the sixteenth century, parallels an eighth century poem, a case can be made for coincidence. Yet I know of no sermon or homily that bears such a close parallel, especially for the all-important dramatic technique.

Although the influence of Ephrem as an exemplar for various techniques is at present virtually impossible to determine, there is a tradition which is highly suggestive of certain techniques and attitudes exemplified by the Bede poem. In this case, furthermore, there is no doubt about its being known in the eighth century in England. We refer here to the first and final steps of the Ladder of Humility, incorporated

into the Benedictine Rule. It may be well to first quote these steps and then to analyze them for their parallels to our poem:

> Primus itaque humilitatis gradus est, si timorem dei sibi ante oculos semper ponens oblivionem omnino fugiat, et semper sit memor omnia quae praecepit Deus, ut qualiter et contemnentes Deum gehenna de peccatis incendat, et vitam aeternam, quae timentibus Deum praeparata est, animo suo semper evolvat.
>
> Duodecimus humilitatis gradus est, si non solum corde monachus, sed etiam ipso corpore humilitatem videntibus se semper indict; id est, in opere Dei, in oratorio, in monasterio, in horto, in via, in agro, vel ubicumque, sedens, ambulans vel stans, inclinatio sit semper capite, defixis in terram aspectibus, reum se omni hora de peccatis suis aestimans, jam se tremendo judicio repraesentari aestimet.[41]

We are first struck by the references to the later three sections of our poem: the mention of Hell and Heaven in the first step, and from the final step, the mention of the Judgment itself. But what is especially striking is the latter, "that he is about to be brought before the dread judgment seat of God." This sentiment would, I suggest, explain the carefully reworked and rearranged opening section of the Old English poem. Next we should notice the austerity of the directions: the apparent lack of elaboration, that while the Benedictine rule does not describe or detail the Judgment, the pains of the damned, and the joys of the saved, there is ample opportunity for the individual

monk to do so. Thus, like our poem, there will be a private meditation, without any pretense of completeness or authoritativeness. This, in turn, would suggest a third salient feature or parallel with our poem: that this exercise is to be an internalized, imaginative one, suggested by the phrase "keep before his eyes," "turn over in his heart." Here we would have a depiction that is at once private and yet in the case of our poem "typical" without resorting to a dream or vision.

Beyond these three striking parallels there are some lesser points that deserve some mention for their similarity to the spirit of the poem, whereas the above points would suggest the general organization of the poem. We can begin with the first step and notice the emphasis on "remember" and "forget" which recalls the many occurrences of gemune especially in the opening section and in most of the dramatic links. Next we might mention the heavy emphasis upon fear as the primary motive here and in our poem. Finally there are some quite faint echoes in the final step that we meet again in the poem, that suggest that we are dealing with a monastic poem. The first is the mention of oratorio which while not used by Bede, does appear in the Old English as in gebedstowe (30b) (cf. the Old English version of the Benedictine Rule

on gebedhuse). Next, is the mention of the places where this step might be performed, especially in horto and in agro, either of which, but the former especially, calls to mind the opening scene. Here it would not be necessary to make a point for point comparison or to translate each of the points mentioned in the opening scene, for we are not looking for an allegorical insight, but rather simply to suggest to those familiar with the Benedictine Rule, the opening scene would invoke recollection of this step.

In addition to the Benedictine Rule we have what might be considered an explication of the final step by Gregory the Great in his Moralia. Though no mention of the Rule is made by Gregory, his own training and instincts were fashioned by St. Benedict's monastic ideal. Gregory here is dealing with the steps of self-examination and self-accusation, the whole point being that this Gregorian elaboration not only complements the Rule, but also suggests the dramatic technique that is singular to our poem. Here are the pertinent sections:

> 12 Dei judicium praevenire debemus nosmetipsos judicando. Sed quod mente conceptum per conversionem deluit. Ad illus quippe venire non desiderat, quisquis se per illus damnari formidat. Coram Domino scilicet judicatur, qui corde Dominum conspicit et actus suos sub ejus praesentia, sollicita inquisitione discernit.

13 "Judicii hujus ordo--accusat conscientia, ratio judicat, timor ligat, dolor cruciat." Debet enim uniuscujusque mens et causas suas apud Dominum et causas Domini contra se sollicita inquisitione discutere; debet caute pensare vel quae ab eo bona perceperit vel quae mala bonis illius perverse vivendo responderit. Considerant quam districte quandoque feriat qui diu patienter exspectant: metuunt in his quae se egisse meminerunt, et puniunt flendo quod perpetrasse se intelligunt; timent subtilia Dei judicia etiam de his quae in semetipsos intelligere fortasse non possunt. Vident enim videri divinitus quod ipse in se per humanitatem non vident; conspiciunt districtum judicem qui quo tardius venit, eo severius perculit. Sanctorum etiam patrum residere conventum cum eo pariter contemplantur, eorumque vel exempla, vel dicta se contempisse reprehendunt, atque in hoc secreto interioria judicii, ipsa mentis suae exsecutione constricti, poenitendo feriunt quod superbiendo commiserunt.

Ibi namque adversum se quidque se impugnat, enumerant: ibi ante oculos suos omne quod defleant, coacervant; ibi quidquid per iram districti judicis decerni possit, intuantur; ibi tot patiuntur supplicia, quot pati timent; nec deest in judicio mente concepto omne ministerium, quod punire reos suos plenius debeat. Nam conscientia accusat, ratio judicat timor ligat, dolor excruciat. Quod judicium eo certus punit, quo interius saevit, quid videlicat ab exterioribus non accedit. Unusquisque enim cum causam hujus examinis contra se aggredi coeperit, ipse est actor qui exhibet, ipse reus est exhibetur; odit se qualem fuisse se meminit et ipse qui est, per semetipsum insequitur illum qui fuit atque ab ipso homine adversus semetipsum fit quaedam rixa in animo parturiens pacem cum Deo; hanc cordia rixam Dominus requirebat.

14 Hoc judicium quod mali declinant, justi semper exercent, quam utiliter subeamus. Sic a peccati vetustate renovamur. Quia ergo nunc in potestate est internum mentis nostrae contra nos subire judicium, recognoscendo accusemus nosmetipsos, et quales fuimus poenitendo torqueamus. Non cessamus dum licet

> judicare quod fecimus, at contra electorum est actus suos quotidie ab ipso cogitationis fonte dicutere, et omne quod turbidum profluit ab intimis exsiccare.
>
> Moralia 25.7.12-14[42]

Here the Benedictine concept of imagining being brought before the Divine Judge is elaborated and detailed. Now the individual is urged to examine himself as God later will, and to judge himself with a superhuman scrutiny and severity. In this further elaboration we see at once the seeds of a dramatic situation exactly like the one we have in our poem. For here we have the individual who is, at the same time, the actor and the reus; and like our poem, the dramatic situation so envisioned is one sided. We are not presented with a dialogue, but with an interrogation. Next we might note the idea of the hatred in this Gregorian elaboration, as the accusor of the present hates and struggles with the self-accused of the past. This is suggestive of the contempt and severity that mark much of the first section and many of the dramatic links in our poem. As we noted in our analysis, even the enheartening sections of the first part always are undercut with a note of severity. Beyond the element of the interior dramatic monologue, between the actor and the reus the struggle of the faculties outlined by Gregory--conscientia accusat, ratio judicat, timor

ligat, dolor excrucit--suggests and invokes the address to the veins, to the sinful tongue, and the poor mind. For what Gregory is here outlining or describing is what Bede is dramatizing, and a knowledge of the Gregorian psychology explains that distinctive quality of the Bede poem, wherein the real verges but never quite passes into the realm of abstraction. Here in this Gregorian elaboration of self-judgment can be found the roots of the distinction between Everyman and Every Sinner.

For here as in the Benedictine Rule we find again that generality--without abstraction--that permits as well as forces each to see himself, privately but individually. In all three cases, the poem, the Gregorian elaboration and the Benedictine Rule--the speaker and the audience can envision and contemplate on two levels, that of the private and the general, but never on the abstract, for the events of the present that mirror dimly the future will be real. For surely, as the Judgment is depicted in the poem, the private, that which is known only to the individual and the Judge, will someday be revealed and laid bare.

We submit then that this tradition of self-examination, stemming from the Benedictine Rule and elaborated by Gregory, best accounts for the structure,

the organization and the overall tone of the poem. Within this framework of a dramatic self-examination, Bede and the Old English poet could add other ideas to fill out the framework, for as we suggest, the whole is internalized, and the generalized focus permits it. But even here, as the notes will show, many of the sentiments are Gregorian. To cite briefly some examples, we would note the predominance of legal terminology to characterize the sinner, the Judgment, and the like; secondly, the whole underlying note of fear; thirdly, and most important, the continual unfolding of the turning-darkness metaphoric definition of sin and with it the ironic counterpart of seeing.

Section 7. Revelation of Character of the Persona

Before turning to an assessment of the Old English version, we may first consider how consistently the speaker is revealed. For all his anonymity, the poem is dramatic, and there will be some revelation of character. The consistency of that revelation will be now considered, solely on literary grounds. The persona of the poem, as in any dramatic form, is not to be identified with the author. In this question of consistency, however, we shall again compare the depiction of the figure with the monastic tradition that explains the distinctive literary features of the poem.

The speaker is consistently drawn in the poem. His attitudes toward himself and the Last Judgment do not vary. Yet the depiction is at variance with monastic tradition on two points: the first being fear. The fear of the sinner never progresses beyond the negative, the fear of punishment. Typically in monastic thinking, this was only the first step of a process that ended in a positive fear, the fear of losing God's love.[43] All of this is incorporated in the expression "compunction."[44] It may be that the definition of sin that is pictured in the poem was such an overriding consideration that the usual steps of compunction were ignored. The climax of the poem comes in the final

depiction of Hell, and, as was noted earlier, the Heaven section is somewhat anticlimactic and certainly does not exhibit the careful organization and planning of the Hell scene.

In spite of the structural and thematic importance of the Hell section, the thorough and consistent emphasis on the fear of punishment might suggest that this speaker was to represent the layman, not the monk. Here we would note the second variation: the excessive emphasis on the carnal sins, especially lust. This emphasis is seen at three key points in the poem. The first is at the dramatic link connecting the Judgment and Hell sections. The speaker turns to the self, but singles out only the flesh. This is dramatically effective, for the last depiction of the sinners emphasizes their fleshly torment. Then however, in the speaker's malediction, the carnal sins of this life are twice emphasized:

> Quae modo, vae, misera servire libidine gaudes
> Luxuriae stimulis te tuae agitabis acutis.
> ll. 88-89

rendered in Old English,

> Wa þe nu, þu þe þeowast þissere worulde,
> and her glæd leofast on galnysse,
> and þe mid stiðum astyrest sticelum þæs gælsan,
> ll. 178-180[45]

The emphasis on lust found in the Latin is not as exact in the Old English because of the phrase þissere worulde. Secondly we might note again the vices of this life that are catalogued in the final Hell scene. In the Latin, all of these noxia gaudia are physical, but one: dira cupido, though that may be "lust" as well as "greed." Of the eleven vices catalogued, carnality is twice emphasized: tenax luxus and sceleratа libido. This emphasis is not noticed in the Old English which reads only ælc gælsa. Finally in the picture of sin the physical vices are again emphasized, though not carnality in particular, Illicitat quicquid modo delectatio carnis. The Old English here is more general, only þæt unalyfed is nu being mentioned.

It is true that the physical vices are more easily imagined. Being specific, they enjoy an almost separate life and lend themselves to such a catalogue as we find here: drunkenness is much more specific than pride. In Patristic thinking, the mental vices, pride in particular, are usually deemed more serious and more numerous.[46] Too, in the Benedictine Rule, humility and obedience are stressed in the Ladder of Humility. It is true that in the definition of sin given in the Latin the emphasis is on the mental, not on the physical. The first step is a mental acquies-

ence, metaphorically a whirling of the mind. Yet the stressing of carnality at key points in the poem is puzzling.[47]

If the depiction of character suggests a layman is the speaker, then here again a slight problem of consistency arises. The particular verse of Scripture that the speaker paraphrases to exhort the self, the paraphrase of Mt. 12.20, hardly suggests a layman. The verse and the allusion are too little known. Then too in the exhortative section, the reference to confession is rather vague. The sinner apparently speaks directly to the Divine Physician. This would be at variance with the teachings of Bede himself, who acknowledges three forms of confession: public, private before a priest, and mutual between monks or laymen.[48] Perhaps we should not be too literal here and read these references as being self-sufficient. Perhaps the customary forms of confession are implied, and that here only the proper mental attitude is being stressed. Yet the vagueness is puzzling, especially when we contrast this section to the clear reference to private confession before a priest in Crist III,

> Wære him þonne betre þæt hy bealodæde
> ælces unryhtes, ær gescomeden
> fore anum men, eargra weorca,
> Gods bodan sægdon þæt hi to gyrne wiston

firendǽda on him. Ne mæg þurh þæt flæsc
se scrift
geseon on þǽre sawle, hwæþer him mon soð
þe lyge
sagað on hine sylfne, þonne he þa synne big
sæd.
ll. 1301-1307

Let it be stressed again that these inconsistencies--and they are slight--become apparent only when the poem is examined in a larger context. Within the poem they do not appear. Again, the single consciousness being the starting and ending point allows a private shaping and focusing of all the speculation accrued over the centuries. Further, these few singularities are by no means heretical; but they do make the speaker's vision incomplete. However slightly characterized he may be, the speaker is seen as a real person, not an abstraction. He is not the sinner, but a sinner. By making the speaker a real person, Bede enables anyone in his audience to identify easily with him.

Section 8. Literary Assessment of the Old English Translation

Now that we have analyzed the poem and set it in a tradition that will explain its distinctive features and its organization, we turn now to a discussion of the poetic merits of the Old English version. We have anticipated some of this discussion in our commentary, wherein additions and deletions between the two versions were noted. Our primary concern in this section is in assessing the poetic merits of the Old English version.

As noted earlier, these additions and deletions are few but significant, for they establish that within certain bounds, the Old English poem is a literary entity in its own right. As in all translations, something will be lost, and that something will often reflect the essence of a language system. But we might also consider what has been added by the new language system in which the translator-poet worked. This hyphen is justified, I feel, for our poet had not only to translate ideas but to fashion them according to the prosody of another language. Thus, we have here an interesting and unique case in the Old English corpus.

His major problem of resolving the conflict between two radically different linguistic and prosodic

systems was accentuated because of the prestige of Bede. The rubric preceding the Old English text identifies Bede as the author. We suggest that for those who could not read Latin the Old English too was Bede's poem. The parallel would hold true today when we read Virgil, Dante, or Beowulf in translation. We trust the accuracy of the translator, but forget his presence. In addition to his own world-wide repute, Bede was a native son. The general accuracy of the translation, including the prosaic, may reflect the author of the Latin, not any intractability of content.

There is no question of the poet's competence, both in knowing the Latin, and transferring both the sense and spirit, at the same time observing the demands of Old English prosody. His additions and deletions are generally few, but significant enough to establish the Old English as a literary entity. The most striking examples are the personification and shortening of the vices in the depiction of Hell, and the elaboration of Mary in the depiction of Heaven. Both indicate a bent for the picture, rather than the statement. Further, he evinces a high degree of competence in Old English prosody, witness the regularity of the scansion. The high percentage of formulas would suggest a familiarity with the main body of

Old English poetry.[49]

He is at times interlinear. Whether such passages reflect a certain intractability of the material, a high regard for the author of the Latin, or perhaps some doctrinal point that had to be made--and there are instances of each type--whenever the interlinear prevails, the poetry is competent and that is about all. Without a knowledge or awareness of the Latin model, we would not be very much impressed by the performance. Not that such a knowledge excuses a mediocre handling, but it does explain the unevenness of the performance. To cite two examples again, the strong first nine lines which are first-rate poetry are undercut by the next fourteen, which are of another quality. Or, the interesting compression and personification of the vices contrast sharply with the tediousness of the catalogue, both positive and negative, of the joys of Heaven. Reasons have been suggested in the commentary why at different points in the poem, the poet becomes interlinear. The interlinear difficulty often leads to syntactical problems. Many stem from following the same verbal forms of the Latin, e.g., a participle for a participle.

The ratio of two Old English lines to one Latin hexameter proved a poetic straightjacket. A certain

padding resulted, usually of a repetitious nature, to fill out the off-verse of the second Old English line. Such repetition is not indicative of Old English poetry, which rarely pads or fills out the line without adding something interesting. Instead elaboration is used, but not in this poem. He generally is very careful to stay within the bounds of the Latin, and considering the demands of prosody and this attitude a repetitious padding is inevitable if he did not want to add new material. The doubling of verbs and adjectives results. This conscious attempt to keep to the two for one ratio accounts for the quite marked reliance upon a limited number of conjunctions. The overuse of and and ðonne, eac and eall(e) as alliterative words all result from following the ratio.

The overdependence upon the ratio was to have still more telling consequences. In the descriptive-narrative portions of the poem--the final three sections--the terseness of the Latin is undercut. In the Judgment section, for example, the immediacy of the action is lost to an extent by this padding. Though we have sequence, each event is slightly elaborated beyond the Latin. In the Hell section, the Latin presents a tableau, the Old English a narration. Yet ðonne, in its repetition, adds to the overall effect, by

suggesting the unceasing repetition of Hell's torments.

As for the poet's strengths, they are impressive, and one can only wish he had used them more. The first is a marked ability to rework and reorder passages according to his own poetic instincts and the demands of the idiom. Here the foremost example would be the opening nine lines. There is nothing of the interlinear, but each idea of the Latin can be identified in the Old English. The Latin has suffered a seachange through the medium of the poet. Although the individual parts of the Latin can be identified, there are additions, and more important, the whole scene is rearranged according to the instinct and bent of the poet. To a lesser degree we see the same tendency at work in the depiction of Heaven, where the Old English poet freely emends and adds, and we might say, improves upon the Latin. Would that he had done this more often.

In many ways even more impressive is his ability to use verbal echoes to link together a rather long poem that tends to divide into disparate units or scenes. Here I feel we have a better indicator of his poetic ability: i.e. his ability to utilize the language as an organizing device. This can be seen

in three areas. First would be the somewhat puzzling translations, which at first sight verge upon misreadings. Here would be dægcuð and other examples. Most of these can be fitted into a larger and continuing metaphorical thread running throughout the poem. Secondly we would note the number of hapax legomena. Once again most of these can be fitted into a larger scheme of verbal echoes. The various compounds of dæd and dæg come to mind. But even more, these verbal echoes are fitted into a formulaic pattern, so that the echo or the suggestive power of a word is often doubled. However, it is the fusion of these echoes and singular words into an elaborate and unifying metaphor that testifies to his poetic genius. Though suggested by the Latin, the metaphor is developed into something more than the Latin could suggest.

To conclude our assessment then, this rendering of the Latin is certainly no schoolroom exercise. It gives evidence of being controlled by a poetic and creative mind. However, for whatever reasons, he was not true to his instinct throughout, and so produced a curiously uneven poem.

Footnotes to Chapter I

[1]For my study of the Latin original I have used the received text, Bedae Venerabilis: Liber Hymnorum, Rhythmi, Variae Preces, ed. J. Fraipont, in Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina, CXXII (Turnhaut, 1955), 439-444. This edition is valuable for recording variants, and particular attention should be paid to those labeled Beta. L. Whitbread in "Ms CCCC 201: A Note on its Character and Provenance," PQ, XXXVIII (1959), 108-11, shows that the Beta manuscript, B. M. Cott. Domitian A.i, fols. 51a-54b, is especially important for a study of the Old English. "It is significant that this copy has a number of the readings which were utilised in the Old English version, has a closely comparable punctuation, and must at least belong to the general tradition followed by the translator." Her assessment of the Corpus Christianorum edition as "simply an improved version of Migne, and adds little to the textual history of the poem," testifies to the need for greater interdiscipline cooperation.

[2]Judgment Day II is now the standard title in Old English scholarship. The older title, Be Domes Dæge was used by earlier editors of the poem: J. R. Lumby, EETS, O. S. 55 (London, 1876) and Hans Löhe, Bonner Beiträge zur Anglistik, XXII (Bonn, 1907)--hereafter cited as "Lumby" and "Löhe." The older title is used still by modern critics such as Bernard Huppe. Citations in the standard reference works vary also. Bosworth-Toller, An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary (Oxford, 1898) and Supplement (Oxford, 1921) use "Dōm. L." J. R. Clark Hall, A Concise Anglo-Saxon Dictionary, 4th ed. (Cambridge, 1962), uses "DD." C. W. M. Grein and F. Holthausen, Sprachschatz der Angelsächsischen Dichter, revised by J. J. Köhler (Heidelberg, 1912) use "D. d. j." The poem is untitled in the manuscript. Instead there is a Latin rubric which suggests the older title: Incipit versus Bede presbiter. De die iudicii. The first two Latin hexameters are then quoted.

[3]The received text will be found in The Anglo-Saxon Minor Poems, ed. Elliot Van Kirk Dobbie, in The Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records, VI (New York, 1942), 58-67. In his admirable edition, Dobbie summarizes the scholarly research, mainly textual and philological.

In my edition, I offer few emendations, and retain two manuscript readings emended by Dobbie. The weight of this edition will be critical and interpretive.

[4]Bernard Huppe in Doctrine and Poetry (Albany, 1959), p. 80, characterizes the development of the poem as a "fictitious monologue." Though noting that the form is "interesting in its suggestion of internal dialogue between the soul and the body," Huppe does not explore the dramatic structure further. His phrase "fictitious" is interesting, and I wish he had explained it further. Stanley B. Greenfield, A Critical History of Old English Literature (New York, 1965), p. 133, notes, "it also reveals the influence of Soul and Body poems in its speaker's penitential exhortations to his flesh to forsake its geocentrism." Nothing is noted of the dramatic structure. Huppe's analysis is paraphrased and assessed as "plausibly suggested," but his comment, n. 10, p. 134, is of interest: "Without resorting to the exegetical tradition, sense can still be made of these opening lines: the speaker's solitude even amidst nature's bounty and beauty is intensified by the bursts of wind, leading to a sudden inner dissatisfaction that expresses itself in the planctus." I am not sure I see "solitude intensified" in the opening nine lines. I wish too that planctus were further justified or explained. George K. Anderson in The Literature of the Anglo-Saxons (Princeton, 1949), p. 166, makes no mention of the dramatic structure. Instead, he notes a conflict between the lyric and the narrative.

[5]Anderson, p. 344, characterizing the Blickling Homilies as "less averse to introduce legend and popular moralizing in a rather surprising way," notes this point.

[6]The best evidence that the poem forms into self-contained units is that a good portion of the Judgment and Hell sections appear, with some reworking, in a homily. This homily has proven invaluable for a reconstruction of corrupted lines of the poem. The homily is found in its entirety in A. S. Napier, Wulfstan, Sammlung der ihm zugeschriebene Homilien nebst Untersuchungen über ihre Echtheit, (Berlin, 1883), pp. 134-153. The singular contribution of Löhe's edition is his comparison of the homily and the poem. The authenticity of the homily is rejected

by Karl Jost. Characterizing that section of Homily XXIX adapted from the poem, Jost writes "Wulf XXIX 136 29-40, ist eine Prosaauflösung des Gedichtes Be Domes Dæge, 93-279. Der Bearbeiter hat seine Vorlage verkürzt unt ihren Wortlaut öfters verändert, bewahrt aber dennoch wohl gelegentlich eine ursprünglichere Lesart als des schlecht überlieferte Text des Gedichtes selbt." Wulfstanstudien in Schwizer Anglistiche Arbeiten, No. 23 (Bern, 1950), 206.

[7]Invocatio appears in the left hand margin at line 13 of the Beta manuscript of the Latin poem in a later hand.

[8]Chapters on Old English Literature (London, 1935), p. 234. Her translation of the first nine lines that follow is rather free. For example, "wolcn wæs gehrered" is translated "a cloud arose."

[9]Anglo-Saxon Saints and Scholars (New York, 1947) p. 325. Her paraphrase too is rather free. "As the wind awakes music among its branches" is not quite the Latin "Flamine ventorum resonantibus undique ramis."

[10]Doctrine and Poetry, pp. 80-94.

[11]This "double vision" may reflect a doctrinal concern that all men will appear on the Judgment Day. There are countless variations on this theme, centering about the classes and divisions of mankind. In this poem the question is not discussed. We are told only that all men will appear, and the only division seems to be the saved and the damned.

[12]Löhe, pp. 53-62. On the basis of this ratio, Löhe reconstructs what seem to him to be missing verses.

[13]cf. this use in Thebais 8.18.

[14]cf. B-T Supp, gemang IV-2. This line is cited and glossed "among the streams," with the following comment, "the passage seems to be based on: Inter florigeras fecundi cespitis herbas." Another slippery word is innon. If rendered as simply "in," then no "of" clause need follow gemonge; but as "within" an "of" clause is needed. Because the woods are mentioned three times, I think the referent should be to them.

[15]ASPR, VI, 58, textual note for l. 13.

[16]Early English Christian Poetry: Translated into Alliterative Verse (New York, 1952), p. 259--hereafter cited as "Kennedy."

[17]This point is made by Miss Duckett, p. 248.

[18]"A Study of Bede's Versus de die iudicii," PQ, XXIII (1944), 193-221. Hereafter cited as "A Study."

[19]Whitbread, "A Study," p. 207, n. 64, points out that Lumby's error persists in E. K. Gordon's translation, Anglo-Saxon Poetry (New York, 1926), p. 315. She wonders, amusingly, whether Lumby's error was pointed out to him when he later appeared to be examined for a degree in Divinity.

[20]These commentaries will be summarized in the note to this line. To Whitbread, "A Study," p. 207, these lines show Bede's love of incorporating Biblical quotations. Kennedy notes the paraphrase as an assurance of "faith in the kindly and gentle mercy of the Heavenly Leech," p. 253.

[21]"A Study," p. 200.

[22]The Gospel justification for such a view would probably be Mt. 24.27, the lightning that comes from the east and goes to the west. For a poetic expression of this idea see Prudentius, "Hymnus ad Galli Cantum" and "hymnus Matutinus," in Liber Cathemerinon. Other speculation had Doomsday occurring on a Sunday, but dawn is not stressed. For examples see Homily 14, Old English Homilies, ed. R. Morris, EETS, O.S., 29, p. 138; Napier, Sammlung, XLIII, p. 210; XLIV, p. 219; and LVII, p. 294. Easter is the predicted time of the Second Coming, see Homily 7, The Blickling Homilies of the Tenth Century, ed. R. Morris, EETS, O.S., 58, 63, 73, p. 80. The Second Coming was also to be at night, or more precisely, at midnight. The Gospel account of the returning bridegroom is the source, see Mt. 25.6. This occurrence at night is familiar from the opening lines of Crist III. For a more precise prediction that Doomsday will bid an midewintres niht, see Homily 2, Old English Homilies, Part 2, ed. Morris, EETS, O.S., 53.

[23]The earthquakes are mentioned in Luke 21.11 and Mark 13.8. The celestial disorders and the roaring of the sea will be found in Luke 21.25, and the celestial

alone in Mt. 24.29 and Mark 13.24. The earthquake and the falling mountain are mentioned in Jer. 10.10, Joel 2.10, and Apoc. 6.12 and 16.18.

Surprisingly however there is no mention in the poem of the social calamities, the wars, the growing iniquity, and the like, that are to be found in the Gospel accounts. Perhaps such social references would place the poem too much in history and make it into an apocalypse. This kind of literature is markedly different from this poem, being wider in scope and having some reference to the actual world.

[24]The Christ of Cynewulf (Boston, 1900), p. xc.

[25]Such a "conflict" is simply one of the characteristics of Old English poetry. Usually the conflict is between the narrative and the moralizing or didactic passages. Typical of the older generation is Cook's comment on Crist III, p. xcii, "But more wearisome are the frequent didactic passages, in some cases, however, not distinguishable from the lyrical reflections which the situations extort from the poet." The true source of the conflict, the value judgments and systems of two different ages, is aptly identified by C. L. Wrenn in A Study of Old English Literature (New York, 1967). Commenting on The Wanderer, p. 142, he writes, "From this point onward the poem becomes more homiletically moralizing: and it is here that some critics, not liking at all the Anglo-Saxon love of moralizing, and the more emphasized influence of Latin Christianity, have sought to detect interpolations. . . . Such moralizing recitations of pious platitudes, as they must seem to the modern reader, were a source of pleasure to the Anglo-Saxons." Noting the same problem in the final third of The Seafarer, p. 145, Wrenn comments, "Yet, as has been already said, one must remember that the Anglo-Saxons probably would like both the tone and matter of verses of the kind which literary critics of modern times would wish to reject."

[26]The actual mode of the Judgment is not told in the Gospel. Bede is here following the best Patristic speculation. The main varieties of that speculation may be here briefly summarized. Augustine posits a public and simultaneous Judgment. Jerome, also, posits a public Judgment, but is unclear whether this is to be accomplished simultaneously or not. Ambrose implies an individual Judgment; Gregory, a simultaneous one. All of them agree upon the mass Judgment; as in the earlier exhortation to the self, however, the drama of the self before his Judge had great potential

for the homilist and the poet.

[27]The fire of Doomsday was traditionally one of two kinds. It could be a purifying agent for the lesser sins. This view is essentially that of Ephrem and Ambrose, and qualifiedly, by Augustine and Jerome. With Gregory and the formation of the doctrine of purgatory, the fire becomes solely destructive. The poem here is rather clear in that unless cleansed beforehand, the fire will burn, but it will, nonetheless, pass over all mankind. Perhaps in this way the good will be determined.

[28]The book of conscience is a prominent part of the best Patristic speculation and appears in the discussions of the Judgment. Its absence here is surprising, and may simply be another detail which was eliminated, or a point on which Bede himself was not convinced.

[29]A brief survey of Western eschatological thought and some indication of the kinds of literature treating this subject is in order here. The development of thought and emphasis is in three stages, and the shifting emphasis reflects the changing fortunes of the Latin Church in the world. Briefly these three stages are: against the Roman Empire, with the Roman Empire, and after the Roman Empire. This relationship dictates both the kind of literature and what, out of the Judgment Day complex, is emphasized.

The first phase would be the Church persecuted and later tolerated. The literature is concerned essentially with the end of the world, especially the political catastrophes that will mark the last days. Two books of the Bible figure most prominently here: Daniel and the Apocalypse. We might also mention other apocalypses from the New Testament apocrypha, for example, that attributed to Thomas. Such works are characterized by a strong political sense, the imminence of the Second Coming, and especially the persecution of the Church. Most important however, is the characterization of Christ as Liberator. Rarely is He Judge. These characteristics and a certain vividness of description are found in the early Latin writings whether they be speculative, such as Lactantius' Divinarum Institutionum, or quasi-commentaries, such as Zacchaeus Christianus' Consultationum,

or dogmatic, such as Irenaeus' Adversus Haeresis. The first work, addressed to the Romans by the tutor of Crispus, is of some significance for a melding of prophetic books of the Old Testament, the Apocalypse, and the classical myths of the Golden Age.

Another indication of the awareness of the temporal world is that in such literature there is always specific mention of who will be judged. Usually appearing are the Jews, the Romans, and especially heretics and the fallen away. Of Christians there is little mention. In some there is a marked sense of the entirety of mankind appearing. Tertullian's mention of Aristotle who finds his logic of no avail before Christ, found at the end of De spectaculis, is probably the best known. This title epitomizes this first stage, for the Second Coming will truly be the spectacle. This first phase is marked by especially vivid description, political consciousness, and a sense of imminence. It was written to warn Christians of the coming persecutions and cheer them with their ultimate liberation. Generally the Roman Empire is the final adversary or a prelude to a worse one.

The second stage would see the Church as the ally of the Empire. Here we have the first appearance of Latin homiletics in the figures of Ambrose and Augustine. Too this is the beginning of Scriptural commentary in the person of Jerome. The first change is the view of the Roman Empire. From persecutor it had become a quasi-ally. Its dissolution would be the prelude to even worst disasters. The fall of Rome could seem to Jerome to be the beginning of the end. In Jerome's commentaries on the prophetic books of the Old Testament--Isaiah, Amos, Joel, Naum, Sophonias--we see this same tendency to move away from identifying the time of the Second Coming and the contemporary world. However, something of the old remains, for in his commentary on Daniel, Jerome identifies the Antichrist and the final persecutors as now alive, stirring somewhere beyond the Urals. In his commentaries, we see too an attempt to work out in some greater detail the sequence and timetable of the actual Judgment. These speculations, such as Mt. Sion being the place of the Judgment, appear in Crist III: but whether these remarks were to be taken literally or not is unknowable. Jerome never wrote an integrated work on eschatology. His commentaries, though valuable for details, often conflict and no overall summary can be provided.

With Ambrose may be said to begin Latin homiletics. He often preached on the Last Judgment, and his sermons are significant and might be termed the beginning of the "Doomsday" literature. This literature differs sharply from the earlier speculative work. First, it is no longer apologetic or dogmatic, but solely exhortative, addressed to Christians. Secondly, the events of the Judgment are shortened to concentrate exclusively on the Coming of Christ. Therefore no coherent picture, with a political orientation, of the end of the world is advanced. The question of imminence, likewise, is vaguely handled. What this literature is concerned with is inculcating a certain attitude, that the Judgment is to be feared and prepared for. From liberator, Christ is now the fearful and awesome Judge, coming now, not to liberate, but to judge and punish. To the end of the right attitude, the fearsomeness and spectacle of the event is detailed and richly described. No longer is the Second Coming an enheartening and encouraging event, but a call to repentence and amendment.

The significance of Augustine in this discussion cannot be stressed too much. He culminates the speculative and temporal tradition, noticeably in De civitate Dei, and in homiletics, his view of the attitude toward the Judgment, is, simply put, unique. In his major work, Augustine brought to an end all speculation on the imminence by allegorizing Scripture and disassociating the fortunes of the Church with any existing political institutions. The calmness, the lack of description, the allegory that mark Book 20, itself a commentary on the Apocalypse, is remarkable in view of the historical circumstances of its composition. Rome had already fallen, and Hippo itself was then besieged. Another significant work, and one which in many ways is more important that De civitate Dei is Epistle 199, a long doctrinal letter to Hesychius at the end of the year 418. Remarkable too is Augustine's preaching on the Last Judgment. Here the same characteristics of De civitate Dei are to be found. There is no vivid and detailed description. There is no reference to the contemporary scene. Instead his constant theme is that for the Christian, the coming is to be desired. His favorite proof is the adveniat regnum tuum which all Christians pray. He discusses fear and analyzes it in every detail, but unlike Ambrose, Augustine so shapes fear that it turns into a positive force, a fear that the Judgment will not take place. In

Augustine's homiletics, the Second Coming is the final fulfillment for the Christian and should be looked forward to with love and enthusiasm.

After Augustine and the dissolution of the Empire, there is very little speculation about imminence and the contemporary world. So too there is little discussion of Antichrist and the final persecutions. One significant exception would be Benedict of Nursia's vision in which he sees the Langobards as descending upon Italy and the final dissolution following closely. Gregory recorded the vision in the Dialogues 3.13. There are other visions, but progressively these have to do with the nature of Hell and Heaven. The only attempt to interpret the Apocalypse comes much later than the age of Bede, in the year 942, by Adso in the Liber de antichristo. There the final persecutions are seen as coming from the north, the Danes in particular. Much of this book finds its way into Old English homilies in the late tenth and early eleventh centuries. The speculation on the subject is usually drawn from Augustine and becomes diffuse, finding its way into works on history, chronology, and handbooks.

In homiletics, the fear theme continues but with some interesting and significant variations. Here we shall first mention the writings that emanated from southern France in the late fifth and early sixth centuries. The leading figure is Caesarius of Arles who is significant for combining fear, vivid description, and most of all, the dramatic tableau. In these sermons, Christ often confronts the sinners before their final condemnation. His recriminations to those who have forsaken His sufferings and their redemption, are usually a series of rhetorical questions. His sermons are also marked with rich and detailed description of the Second Coming, the final destruction of the universe, and the pains of the damned. But there is no mention of the final political situation. The scene is divided simply between the damned and the saved. Also of note in this group are Pomerius of Arles, especially his Vita contempliva, Faustus of Riez, and Valerian of Cimiez. In the sermons of these figures, there is almost nothing about the signs that will be the prelude to the Second Coming. Instead, the Coming itself is vividly detailed, and the emphasis is upon the individual brought before his Judge.

With Gregory the Great, we are in the direct spiritual antecedent of the Bede poem. Gregory's central and constant theme is the need for fear, even to the point of uncertainty. Over and over in his public preaching the terribleness of the Judgment is alluded to but not described. Nor is there much dwelling on the fearsomeness of the presages. Instead, like our poem, usually the Gospel signs are simply recounted and the discussion moves to the need of repentance. It seems certain that Gregory thought the Second Coming was imminent in the close of the sixth century. We quote here the opening of his homily on Luke 21.25-32, the text for the first Sunday in Advent:

> Exquibus profecto omnibus alia jam facta cernimus alia ea proximo ventura formidamus. Nam gentem super gentem exsurgere, earumque presuram terris insistere, plus iam in nostris temporibus cernimus quam in Codicibus legimus. Quod terrae motus urbes innumeras subruat, ex aliis mundi partibus scitis quam frequentes audivimus. Pestilentia sine cessatione patimur. Signa vero in sole, et luna, et stellis, abhuc aperte minime videmus, sed quia et haec non longe sit, ex ipsa jam aeris immutatione colligimus. Quamvis priusquam Italia gentili gladio ferienda traderetur, igneas in coelo acies vidimus, ipsum qui postea humani generis fusus est sanguinem coruscantem. Confusio autem maris et fluctuum necdeum nova exorta est. Sed cum multa praenuntiata jam completa sint, dubium non est quin sequantur etiam pauca quae restant, quia sequentium rerum certitudo est praeteritarum exhibitio.
>
> Hom. I in XL Hom in Evang, Lib I, PL 76.1007-1078

The rest of the homily is an exhortation to penance, with the usual admonition, that the more we fear Him now, the less we will fear Him then. But this introduction is interesting for its "vague specifics," that the signs enumerated are now being fulfilled. So too our poem, so too the eschatological homilies of Wulfstan. These omens are, in Gregory's thinking, actually warnings to repent and prepare. Rather than describing or presenting a verbal picture of the Judge or the Judgment, Gregory urges each to meditate and ponder and keep before his eyes the fearsomeness and the terror. Only once that I have found does Gregory wax enthusiastic, and that is in describing the final

destruction of the Beast of the Apocalypse:

> Moxque ad consolationem nostram redians, extremi judicii futurum ejus interitum praenuntiat "et videntibus cunctis praecipitabitur." Quia aeterno tunc judice terribiliter apparente, ostantibus legionibus angelorum, assistenti cuncto ministerio coelestium potestatum, at que electis omnibus ad hoc spectaculum deductis, ista bellua crudelia et fortis in medium captiva deducitur. O quale erit illud spectaculum, quando haec immanissima bestia electorum oculis ostendetur, quae hoc belli tempore nimis illos terrere poluerat, se videretur.

Moralia 33. 29.37

The comparison between this and Tertullian's De spectaculis will show the changing emphasis.

In summary then we suggest that in making no mention of the calamities and the political upheavals that are as much a part of the Gospel accounts as the physical and celestial distresses, Bede was in the general tradition that obtained from Augustine. In limiting his depiction to the bare mention of the Gospel accounts he would have had the model of Gregory. Ultimately his reason for so limiting his material can only be conjectured. With the example and evidence of other Christian Latin poetry, his poem stands singularly unadorned. I would suggest that his central theme, a definition and depiction of sin and its consequences, decided all other questions. Simply put, there were to be no distractions from this point.

[30]The text will be found in Spicilegium Solesmense, ed. J. B. Pitra (Paris, 1858), IV, 138-145.

[31]It is not my purpose here to catalogue every Latin poem on the Last Judgment. The poems on this subject are too numerous and too varied. For purposes of contrast I would cite the following: Ad Flavium Felicem de Resurrectione Mortuorum, CSEL, XXXIII, 308-325. The poem of some four hundred lines argues for the resurrection of the body, and to this end, the Judgment is described in some detail, and especially the state of the blessed. Commodianus' Instructiones 2, 3, and 4 would furnish examples of the detailed and vivid description as would his Carmen Apolegeticum, ll. 999-1060; CSEL, XV. Commentorium Liber I and II, CSEL, XVI, is another example of detailed

description, and is also noteworthy for one of the few references in poetry of the sixth and seventh century to the historical context. To be ever watchful, he says, one need only survey contemporary Gaul, which is characterized, uno fumavit Gallia tota rogo, l. 184. We should also mention the various hymns on the Last Judgment, for these share with the poem a terseness of expression in their depiction. In addition to the hymn which Bede quotes in his De Arte Metrica and which A. S. Cook has shown to be an important source of Crist III in The Christ of Cynewulf (Boston, 1900), pp. 171-172, we might also cite the hymn attributed to St. Columban, Altus Prosator in The Irish Liber Hymnorum, eds. J. H. Bernard and R. Atkinson, Henry Bradshaw Society, XIII (London, 1898), I, 66-83.

[32]Divina Quaedam S. Ephraem Opera mille ducentis iam annis e Syra in Graecam lingua, nunc autem e Graeca in Latinam versa, Petro Francisco/Zino Veronensi, Interpreto. Dillingae Apud Sebaldum Mayer, MDLXII. Thus the title page of the original in the University of Illinois rare book collection, call number x892. 3/Ep31z. The homily is entitled Animi sui timorem explicat, and appears first in this work. The homily entitled Deflet Peccata Sua & Dei Misericordiam implorat, which opens with Ephrem recounting a journey by night from Edessa, is found on p. 37. The translator is the sixteenth-century Italian humanist, Petrus Franciscus Zinus (c.1500-1579). Still the standard edition of Ephrem's works, though decried by all students of the Syrian Father, is the six-volume, tri-lingual edition by Assemani (Rome 1740-1743). I have been unable to obtain a copy of this edition, and have used the sixteenth century edition cited above. The Latin is, of course, Zinus' but according to the entry in The Dictionary of Italian Humanists his life's work was the translation of Greek and Eastern Fathers.

[33]For his thinking on the avenging fire, see Carl-Martin Edsman, Le Bapteme de Feu in Acta Seminarii Neotestamentici IX (Uppsala, 1940), pp. 94-133. For his thinking on Paradise, see Jean Danielou, "Terre et Paradis chez les pere de l'Eglise," Eranos Jarhbuch (1953), XXII, 433-472.

[34]See M. Villemain, Tableau de l'eloquence chretienne au IV^e siecle, nouvelle edition (Paris, 1891), pp. 254-258.

[35]PL 88.597-718.

[36]The knowledge of Ephrem in the early Middle Ages is surveyed by Gustave Bardy, "Le souvenir de Saint Ephrem dans le haut moyen age latin," Revue Moyen Age Latin, XXX (1946), 297-300. This article is only a survey. There is no citation between the work of Defensor and collections of homilies of the ninth century.

[37]I am here summarizing the three-part article on Ephrem in the Dictionnaire spiritualite ascetique et mystique (Paris, 1947), IV, i, col. 788-817. The article on the Latin Ephrem is by J. D. Hemmerdinger-Iliadou.

[38]This collection, De compunctione, found in Parisinus lat. 1771, is characterized by Hemmerdinger-Iliadou as one "qui pouvait faire songer a Ephraem." This collection is attributed to Paul the Deacon by Albert Siegmund in Die Uberlieferung des Griechischen Christlichen Literature in der Lateinischen Kirche bis zum zwolften Jahrhundert in Abhandlung der Bayerischen Benediktiner-Akademie, V (Munich, 1949), p. 96, n. 3.

[39]Edmund Beck, characterizing the Ephrem Graecus as monastic literature comments, "Les themes eschatologiques ont nouri abondamment le christianisme primitif et ils constituent un des traits caracteristiques de la spiritualite monastique." Dictionnaire spiritualite, IV, i, col. 807.

[40]Quellen und Verwandschaftan der älteren Germanischen Darstellungen des Jüngsten Gerichtes in Studien zur Englischen Philologie, No. 31 (Halle, 1908). Grau's characterization of the textual problems attendant upon such a study as a wüste Wirrwarr is apt even today.

[41]The Rule of Saint Benedict, ed. and trans. Abbot Justin McCann (Westminster, 1963), pp. 38-47.

[42]PL 76.325-332.

[43]We will here call attention to representative passages from Patristic writers illustrating that fear should ultimately be a positive force, a fear of losing God's love. This sentiment is quite common in St. Augustine. One passage in particular is of interest here: Ch. 2, Tract 9 in Tractatus in Ep. Joan. The relationship between the negative and positive fear is here likened to the action of the surgeon's knife probing a wound. The physician metaphor recalls the many references to the Divine Leech in the poem.

> Torquet cor conscientia peccatorum, nondum facta est justificatio. Est ibi quod titillet, quod pungat. Quid est, "non compungar"? Non sit quod stimulet conscientiam meam. Stimulat timor: sed noli timere; intrat charitas quae sanat quod vulnerat timor. Timor Dei sic vulnerat, quomodo medici ferramentum; putredinem tollet, et quasi videtur vulnus augere. Ecce putredo quando erat in corpus, minus est vulnes sed periculosum: accedit ferramentum medici, minus dolebat illus vulnus, quam dolet modo cum secatur.
>
> Occupet ergo cor tuum timor, ut inducat charitatem; succedat cicatrix ferramento medici. Tales est medicus, ut nec cicatrices appareant: tu tantum subde te dexterae ipsius. Opus est ergo ut intret timor primo, per quem veniat charitas. Timor medicamentum, charitas sanitas.
>
> Sunt homines qui propterea timent Deum ne mittantur in gehennam, ne forte ardeant cum diablo in igne aeterno. Ipse est timor ille qui introducit charitatem, sed sic venit ut exeat. Si enim ad hoc propter poenas times Deum, nondum amas quem sic times. Non bona desideras, sed mala caves. Cum bona desiderare coeperis, erit in te timor castus. Quis est timor castus? Ne amittas ipso bona. Aliud est timere Deum, ne mittat te in gehennam cum diablo; aliud est timere Deum, ne recedat a te. Ille timor quo times ne in gehennam mittaris cum diablo, nondum est castus; non enim venit ex amori Dei, sed ex timore poenae: cum autem times Deum, ne deserat te praesentia ejus; amplecteris eum, ipso frui desideras.
>
> PL 35.2048-2049

Other instances of the two kinds of fear may be found in his Ennarationes in Psalmos, PL 36.515, 689, 807-9, 952-3; 37. 1026ff, 1440.

The progression is three-fold in John Cassian. In Ch. 6, The Conferences, trans. Edgar Gibson, Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers XI (New York, 1894), p. 417, we are told that faults are overcome in three ways, the fear of Hell, the hope of Heaven, and the love of virtue:

> Faith is what makes us shun the stains of sin from fear of future judgment and punishment; hope is what withdraws our mind from present things and despises all bodily pleasure from its expectations of heavenly rewards; love is what inflames us with a keenness of heart for the love of Christ and the fruit of spiritual goodness and makes us hate with a perfect hatred whatever is opposed to these.

In Ch. 7, the fear of punishment is likened to the attitude of a slave, the hope of reward to that of a hireling, and the love of God to the attitude of a son. The same general movement from fear to love is found in Gregory the Great, see Dial. 3.34, PL 77.300-1.

[44]For a survey of the history of compunction, showing always this two-fold aspect, see Joseph de Guibert S. J., "La compunction du coeur," Revue d'Ascetique et de Mystique, XV (1934), 225-240.

[45]Anderson, p. 167, translates these final two lines curiously, "And art living here gladly in wickedness,/And dost urge thyself on with the mighty goads of pride."

[46]Gregory the Great accorded almost equal rank to Pride and Lust, the two being the mental and physical manifestations of turning away from God. In his scheme of the vices, Gregory lists as the first consequence of luxuria, caecitas mentis, paralleling the definition of sin given in the Latin. The scheme is reproduced in Frederick Homes Dudden, Gregory the Great (London, 1905), II, 388.

[47]Such emphasis is oddly at variance with Bede's other writing, surveyed by Sr. Mary Thomas Carroll, R.S.M., The Venerable Bede: His Spiritual Teachings,

Catholic University of America Studies in Medieval History, New Series No. 9, (Washington, 1946), pp. 152-153. Her interest in Bede is theological and there is no mention of the poem, except briefly in her survey of Bede's works. I am indebted to her for her survey of Bede's thinking on sin, the Judgment, and confession, which is surveyed in Ch. 4, "Sin and Its Purgation According to Bede." We might also mention the parallel to the poem that is found in Alcuin's De virtutibus et vitiis, though only to show that the poem is not atypical. I am making no case that Alcuin is the author of the Latin poem. In Ch. 39, "De fornicatio," which in the Gregorian tradition characterizes lust as caecitas mentis, the vice is overcome by the following: vincitur per castitatem et continentiam consuetam et recordationem ignis aeterni et timorem praesentiae sempiterni Dei. (PL 101.636).

[48]Carroll, pp. 157-176.

[49]Here is my analysis of the 606 half-lines of Judgment Day II. Six half lines--100b, 104b, 121b, 270b, 276b, and 289b--are missing.

Type line	No.	formulaic	non-formulaic
A	299	133	166
B	153	45	108
C	101	25	76
D	30	9	21
E	23	5	18
	606	217 (36%)	389 (64%)

By sections:

		formulaic	non-formulaic
I Exhortation:	ll. 1-91	83	99
II Judgment	92-175	45	118
III Hell	176-246	36	106
IV Heaven	247-306	53	66
		217	389

For my analysis I have followed the method outlined by Jackson J. Campbell: "I have limited myself to formulas which are actually found in other poems in essentially the same form, counting as verified formulas those which may occur with slight modifications of case or accompanying accented words, but excluding those which use similar words in a way sufficiently different to change the Sievers' accentual type." "Oral poetry in The Seafarer," Speculum, XXXV (1960), 91, n. 10 (italics mine).

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The figures I present here should be considered a minimum only of "verified formulas." Such is the nature of the poem that a more liberal method of procedure would show the figures to be reversed. We will briefly outline the distinctive problems of formulaic analysis of Judgment Day II.

The first and major problem is treating the hapax legomena. In some cases various compounds prove the test "in essentially the same form" difficult. For example, for mandædum, line 16a is clearly formulaic, cf. mid mandædum, Gen. 451a. But then how are mid undædum, 58a, for ærdædum, 93b, and be ærdædum, 96b, to be treated? Both of these compounds of -dæd appear only here in the poetry. In all cases, the prefix is an alliterating element, all scan alike, but not all have the same meaning. I have counted the first, but not these others. So too with the verbal prefixes. Aclænsad appears only here, in 158b, but does not differ in meaning or scansion from geclænsian, but beweordod, 118b, does differ in meaning but not in scansion from the instances of geweordod. A second problem with the hapax legomena is that many nouns appear only with and, in, on, or some other such word, making a formulaic identification impossible. Examples such as on galnysse, 179b, and æmelnes, 229b, and and mid sargunge, 246b, contrast with and weallendes pices, 200a, and wop and wanung, 202a, which are formulaic.

The many lines with eall(e) presented some difficulty also. I have included only those that are duplicated exactly such as ealle ætsomne, 165b, and Xst. 126b, and And. 1091b, or closely paralleled, such as ealle beod afæred, 163b and folc weaxs afæred, Exo. 447a. Conversely eall abæred, 41b, and eall gesymed, were not considered formulaic, in both cases the participles being hapax legomena.

I have not included in my analysis the many instances of formulas that appear only in this poem. Such an example would be deade gehende, 59b, and deman gehende, 171b. These do not appear "in other poems" and are, therefore, not strictly formulaic. I have, however, taken some of them into account in assessing the poetic merits of the Old English version. Other formulas, such as the many instances of _____ on eordan, seem simply to be used to complete a line. Nor have I included as formulaic those very slight modifications--usually for alliterative reasons--of an already existing formula if such modifications yield a different scansion. Such an example would be and hleahter and plega, 235a, and plega and hleahtor, Run. 14. Such examples do, however, suggest the poet was aware of and practiced in the conventions of Old English prosody.

The overall percentage of formulaic lines in a poem of this length attests to the poem's being in the central traditions of the Old English poetic corpus. More striking is the fluctuation in the percentage by section. The first and last sections have 46 per cent and 45 per cent respectively, but the second and the third section have 28 and 26 per cent. I can detect no evidence that would suggest that these sections are by another poet, nor is the Latin poem more complex or difficult to translate in these sections. The instances of hapax legomena are rather uniform throughout the poem, and they are not noticeably concentrated in these sections. In these two sections, comprising 305 half-lines, only 81 are formulaic. For a percentage comparable to the first and last sections, only some fifty more formulaic half-lines would be needed. If the Old English corpus were larger, no doubt we would find most, if not all, of these.

CHAPTER II

Text of Judgment Day II

The text given here is based on a fresh transcription from a print of a negative microfilm of the manuscript. In cases where I was unable to make out in the print marks of deletion or changes in handwriting mentioned by Dobbie, I have trusted in his authority since he had the actual manuscript when preparing his text. My text agrees with that of Dobbie in all save a few emendations and matters of punctuation, which are discussed in the notes to the lines in the next chapter. All emendations are italicized, and the manuscript reading will appear at the foot of the page, as well as textual information.

Hwæt! Ic ana sæt innan bearwe,
mid helme beþeht, holte tomiddes,
þær þa wæterburnan swegdon and urnon
on middan gehæge, eal swa ic secge.
Eac þær wynwyrta weoxon and bleowon
innon þam gemonge on æenlicum wonge,
and þa wudubeamas wagedon and swegdon
þurh winda gryre; wolcn wæs gehrered,
and min earme mod eal wæs gedrefed.
Þa ic færinga, forht and unrot,
þas unhyrlican fers onhefde mid sange,
eall swylce þu cwæde, synna gemunde,

lifes leahtra, and þa langan tid,
þæs dimman cyme deaðes on eorðan.
Ic ondræde me eac dom þone miclan
for mandædum minum on eorðan,
and þæt ece ic eac yrre ondræde me
and synfulra gehwam æt sylfum gode,
and hu mihtig frea eall manna cynn
todæled and todemed þurh his dihlan miht.
Ic gemunde eac mærðe drihtnes
and þara haligra on heofonan rice,
swylce earmsceapenra yfel and witu.
Ic gemunde þis mid me, and ic mearn swiðe,
and ic murcnigende cwæð, mode gedrefed:
"Nu ic eow, æddran, ealle bidde
þæt ge wylspringas wel ontynan,
hate of hleorum, recene to tearum,
þænne ic synful slea swiðe mid fyste,
breost mine beate on gebedstowe,
and minne lichaman lecge on eorðan
and geearnade sar ealle ic gecige.
Ic bidde eow benum nu ða
þæt ge ne wandian wiht for tearum,

---

13 -gan added obliquely and curving over tid, according to Dobbie, "in a different hand." 23 yfel/ yfes 28 of/ os

ac dreorige hleor dreccað mid wope
and sealtum dropum sona ofergeotaþ,
and geopeniað man ecum drihtne.
Ne þær owiht inne ne belife
on heortscræfe heanra gylta
þæt hit ne sy dægcuð, þæt þæt dihle wæs,
openum wordum eall abæred,
breostes and tungan and flæsces swa some.
Ðis is an hælu earmre sauwle
and þam sorgiendum selest hihta,
þæt he wunda her wope gecyðe
uplicum læce, se ana mæg
a glidene gyltas mod gode gehælan
and reaplingas recene onbindan,
ne mid swiðran his swyþe nele brysan
wanhydige mod wealdend engla,
ne þone wlacan smocan waces flæsces
wyle waldend Crist wætere gedwæscan.
Hu ne gesceop þe se scaþa scearplice bysne
þe mid Criste wæs cwylmed on rode,
hu micel forstent and hu mære is
seo soðe hreow synna and gylta?

---

43 hælu/ hæl 45 wope/ wopa 47 a glidene gyltas mod/ a glidene gyltas. mod god 50 wanhydige mod/ wan hydig gemod

Se sceaþa wæs on rode scyldig and manful,
mid undædum eall gesymed;
he drihtene swa þeah, deaðe gehende,
his bena bebead breostgehigdum.
He mid lyt wordum ac geleaffullum
his hæle begeat and help recene,
and in gefor þa ænlican geatu
neorxnawonges mid nerigende.
Ic acsige þe, la, earme geþanc,
hwi latast þu swa lange, þæt þu ðe læce ne cyþst,
oððe hwi swigast þu, synnigu tunge,
nu þu forgifnesse hæfst gearugne timan,
nu þe ælmihtig earum atihtum,
heofonrices weard, gehyreð mid lustum?
Ac se dæg cymeð ðonne demeð god
eorðan ymbhwyrft; þu ana scealt
gyldan scad wordum wið scyppend god,
and þam rican frean riht agyldan.
Ic lære þæt þu beo hreðra mid hreowlicum tearum,
and þæt yrre forfoh eces deman.
Hwæt ligst þu on horwe leahtrum afylled,
flæsc, mid synnum? Hwi ne feormast þu

---

63 and in/ 7 n with i added above the line before n
66 læce/ possibly lece cyþst/ cystþ

mid teara gyte torne synne?
Hwi ne bidst þu þe beþunga and plaster,
lifes læcedomes æt lifes frean?
Nu þu scealt greotan, tearas geotan,
þa hwile tima sy and tid wopes;
nu is halwende þæt man her wepe
and dædbote do drihtne to willan.
Glæd bið se godes sunu, gif þu gnorn þrowast
and þe sylfum demst for synnum on eorðan,
ne heofenes god henða and gyltas
ofer ænne syþ wrecan wile ænigum men.
Ne scealt þu forhyccan heaf and wopas
and forgifnesse gearugne timan.
Gemyne eac on mode, hu micel is þæt wite
þe þara earmra byð for æ̆rdædum,
oþþe hu egeslice and hu andrysne
heahþrymme cyningc her wile deman
anra gehwylcum be æ̆rdædum,
oþþe hwylce forebeacn feran onginnað
and Cristes cyme cyþað on eorðan.
Eall eorðe bifað, eac swa þa duna
dreosað and hreosað,

94a hu/ hit egeslice/ egeslic

and beorga hliðu bugað and myltað,
and se egeslica sweg ungerydre sæ
eall manna mod miclum gedrefeð.
Eal bið eac upheofon
sweart and gesworcen, swiðe geþuxsað,
deorc and dimhiw, and dwolma sweart.
Þonne stedelease steorran hreosað,
and seo sunne forswyrcð sona on morgen,
ne se mona næfð nanre mihte wiht,
þæt he þære nihte genipu mæge alecgan.
Eac þonne cumað hider ufon of heofone
deaðbeacnigende tacn, bregað þa earman;
þonne cumað upplice eoredheapas,
stiþmægem astyred, styllað embutan
eal engla werod, ecne behlæhnað,
done mæran metod mihte and þrymme.
Sitt þonne sigelbeorht swegles brytta
on heahsetle, helme beweorðod.
We beoð færinga him beforan brohte,
æghwanum cumene to his ansyne,
þæt gehwylc underfo
dom be his dædum æt drihtne sylfum.
Ic bidde, man, þæt þu gemune hu micel bið se broga
beforan domsetle drihtnes þænne;

---

101 hliðu/ hlida 109 nanre/ "The scribe began with m, then altered m to na and added nre" (Dobbie) 110 alecgan/ flecgan 112 tacn/ Not in MS

stent hergea mæst heortleas and earh,
amasod and amarod, mihtleas, afæred.
Þænne samod becumaþ of swegles hleo
eall engla werod, ecne ymtrymmaþ.
Þænne biþ geban micel, and aboden þider
eal Adames cnosl eorþbuendra
þe on foldan wearþ feded æfre
oþþe modar gebær to manlican,
oþþe þa þe wæron oþþe woldon beon
oþþe towearde geteald wæron awiht.
Þonne eallum beoþ ealra gesweotolude
digle geþancas on þære dægtide,
eal þæt seo heorte hearmes geþohte
oþþe seo tunge to teonan geclypede
oþþe mannes hand manes gefremede
on þystrum scræfum þinga on eorþan;
eal þæt hwæne sceamode scylda on worulde,
þæt he ænigum men ypte oþþe cyþde,
þonne biþ eallum open ætsomne,
gelice alyfed þæt man lange hæl.
Ufenan eall þis eac byþ gefylled
eal uplic lyft ættrenum lige.

---

125 hergea mæst/ he with four or five letters erased after it 127 swegles/ sweges 129 þænne/ Æne 130 eorþbuendra/ eorbuendra 131 feded/ fedend 140 scræfum/ scræfe with the final e dotted beneath for deletion and u written above

Færd fyr ofer eall, ne byd þær nan foresteal,
ne him man na ne mæg miht forwyrnan;
eal þæt us þincd æmtig eahgemearces
under roderes ryne, readum lige
bid emnes mid þy eal gefylled.
Donne fyren lig blawed and braslad,
read and reade, rœsct and efested,
hu he synfullum susle gefremme;
ne se wrecenda bryne wile forbugan
odde ænigum þær are gefremman,
buton he horwum sy her afeormad,
and þonne þider cume, þearle aclænsad.
Þonne fela mægda, folca unrim,
heora sinnigan breost swidlice beatad
forhte mid fyste for fyrenlustum.
Þær beod þearfan and þeodcyningas,
earm and eadig, ealle beod afæred;
þær hæfd ane lage earm and se welega,
fordon hi habbad ege ealle ætsomne.
Dæt rede flod rœscet fyre
and biterlice bærnd da earman saula,
and heora heortan horxlice wyrmas,

---

149 eal/ Eeal 152 blawed/ blawad 154 gefremme/ gefremede
155 wrecenda/ With n added above the line bryne/ brynæ
"With the a dotted beneath for deletion" (Dobbie)
157 afeormad/ With d altered from n

synscyldigra, ceorfaþ and slitaþ.
Ne mæg þær æni man be arna gewyrhtum
gedyrstig wesan, deman gehende,
ac ealle þurhyrnd oga ætsomne,
breostgehyda and se bitera wop,
and þær stænt astifad, stane gelicast,
eal arleas heap yfeles on wenan.
Hwæt dest þu, la, flæsc? Hwæt dreogest þu nu?
Hwæt miht þu on þa tid þearfe gewepan?
Wa þe nu, þu þeowast þissere worulde,
and her glæd leofast on galnysse
and þe mid stiðum astyrest sticelum þæs gælsan!
Hwi ne forhtas þu fyrene egsan,
and þe sylfum ondræd swiðlice witu,
ða deoflum geo drihten geteode,
awyrgedum gastum, weana to leane?
Þa oferswiðað sefan and spræce
manna gehwylces for micelnysse.
Nænig spræc mæg beon, spellum areccan
ænegum on eorþan earmlice witu,
fule stowa fyres on grunde,

---

170 be arna/ bearnū 174 astifaþ/ astifed "with the e dotted beneath for deletion and a written above" (Dobbie) 178 þeowast/ þeowest "with the second e dotted beneath for deletion and a written above" (Dobbie) þissere worulde/ not in MS 187 areccan/ areccen "with the second e dotted beneath for deletion and a written above" (Dobbie)

Þe wæs in grimmum susle on helle.
Þær synt to sorge ætsomne gemenged
se þrosma lig and se þrece gicela,
swiðe hat and ceald helle tomiddes.
Hwilum þær eagan ungemetum wepað
for þæs ofnes bryne eal he is bealuwes full;
hwilum eac þa teþ for miclum cyle manna þær gryrrað.
Þis atule gewrixl earmsceapene men
on worulda woruld wendað þær inne
betwyx forsworcenum sweartum nihtum
and weallendes pices wean and þrosme.
Þær nan stefn styreð butan stearcheard
wop and wanung, nawiht elles;
ne bið þær ansyn gesewen ænigre wihte,
butan þara cwelra þe cwylmað ða earman.
Ne bið þær inne aht gemeted
butan lig and cyle and laðlic ful;
hy mid nosan ne magon naht geswæccan
butan unstences ormætnesse.
Þær beoð þa wanigendan welras gefylde
ligspiwelum bryne laðlices fyres,
and hy wælgrimme wyrmas slitað
and heora ban gnagað brynigum tuxlum.

---

197 earmsceapene/ earm sceape 200 þrosme/ þromes 201 stefn/ stef ne 208 unstences/ un stence 209 wanigendan/ wani gendran "With r dotted beneath for deletion" (Dobbie)

Ufenon eal þis bið þæt earme breost
mid bitere care breged and swenced,
for hwi fyrngende flæsc on þas frecnan tid
hym selfum swa fela synna geworhte,
þæt hit on cweartern cwylmed wurde,
þær ða atelan synd ecan witu;
þær leohtes ne leoht lytel sperca
earmum ænig, ne þær arfæstnes
ne sib ne hopa ne swige gegladað
ne þara wera worn wihte
Flyhð frofor aweg; ne bið þær fultum nan
þæt wið þa biteran þing gebeorh mæge fremman.
Ne bið þær ansyn gemet ænigre blisse,
ac þær bið angryslic ege and fyrhtu
and sari mod, swiðlic gristbigtung;
þær bið unrotnes æghwær wælhreow,
adl and yrre and æmelnes,
and þær synnge eac sauwle on lige
on blindum scræfe byrnað and yrnað.
Þonne deriende gedwinað heonone
þysse worulde gefean, gewitað mid ealle;

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215 fyrngende/ fyrgende 226 ac/ not in MS 227 gristbigtung/ grisgbigtung 229 adl/ eald 230 synnge/ synne 233 gewitað/ gegitað "With the second g dotted beneath for deletion and w written above" (Dobbie)

þonne druncennes gedwinedˇ mid wistum,
and hleahter and plega hleapadˇ ætsomne,
and wrænnes eac gewitedˇ heonone,
and fæsthafolnes feor gewitedˇ,
uncyst onweg and ælc gælsa
scyldig scyndan on sceade þonne,
and se earma flyhdˇ uncræftiga slæp
sleac mid sluman slincan on hinder.
Donne blindum beseah biterum ligum
earme on ende þæt unalyfed is nu;
leofest on life ladˇ bidˇ þænne,
and þæt werige mod wendadˇ þa gyltas
swiðe mid sorgum and mid sargunge.
Eala, se bidˇ gesælig and ofersælig
and on worulda woruld wihta gesæligost,
se þe mid gesyntum swylce cwyldas
and witu mæg wel forbugon,
and samod bliðe on woruld ealle
his þeodne geþeon, and þonne mot
habban heofonrice; þæt is hihta mæst.
Þær niht ne genimdˇ næfre þeostrum

---

239 scyndan/ scyndum with u dotted beneath for deletion and a written above þonne/ þone 244 leofest/ leofes 248 wihta/ wiht na 250 witu/ witū 252 þonne/ With the second n added above the line 253 heofonrice/ With the first e added above the line 254 genimd/ genipd þeostrum/ þeostra

255 þæs heofenlican leohtes sciman;
ne cymð þær sorh ne sar ne geswenced yld,
ne þær ænig geswinc æfre gelimpeð,
oððe hunger oððe þurst oððe heanlic slæp,
ne bið þær fefur ne adl ne færlic cwyld,
260 nanes liges gebrasl ne se laðlica cyle.
Nis þær unrotnes ne þær æmelnys,
ne hryre ne caru ne hreoh tintrega,
ne bið þær liget ne laðlic storm,
winter ne þunerrad ne wiht cealdes,
265 ne þær hagulscuras hearde mid snawe,
ne bið þær wædl ne lyre ne deaðes gryre
ne yrmð ne agnes ne ænigu gnornung,
ac þær samod ricxað sib mid spede,
and arfæstnes and ece god,
270 wuldor and wurðmynt,
swylce lof and lif and leoflic geþwærnes.
Ufenan eal þis ece drihten
him ealra goda gehwylc glædlice ðenað,
þær a andweard ealle weorðaþ
275 and fehþ and geblyssað fæder ætsomne,
wuldraþ and wel hylt,

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265 snawe/ swa se 267 ænigu/ nænigu 271 geþwærnes/ ge hwærnes "With þ crowded in after h in a later hand" (Dobbie) 275 geblyssað/ geblysað

fægere frætuað and freolice lufað
and on heofonsetle hean geregnað.
His sunu bliðe, sigores brytta,
syld anra gehwam ece mede,
heofonlice hyrsta, þæt is healic gifu,
gemang þam ænlican engla werode
and þæra haligra heapum and þreatum.
Þær hy beoð geþeode þeodscipum on gemang
betwyx heahfæderas and halige witegan,
blissiendum modum, byrgum tomiddes,
þær þa ærendracan synd ælmihtiges godes,
and betweoh rosena reade heapas,
þær symle scinað.
Þær þæra hwittra hwyrfð mædenheap,
blostmum behangen, beorhtost wereda,
þe ealle læt ænlicu godes drut,
seo frowe þe us frean acende
metod on moldan, meowle seo clæne,
þæt is Maria, mædena selast--
heo let þurh þa scenan scinendan ricu,
gebletsodost ealra, þæs breman fæder,

---

277 lufað/ lifað 278 geregnað/ gerinnað 283 þreatum/ þreapū 288 rosena/ rosene 290 þæra/ þære with the final e dotted beneath for deletion and a written above 291 beorhtost/ beortost

betweox fæder and sunu, freolicum werede,
and betwyx þære ecan uplicum sibbe
rice rædwitan, rodera weardas.
Hwæt mæg beon heardes her on life,
gif þu wille secgan sod þæm ðe frined,
wiđ þam þu mote gemang þam werode
eardian unbleoh on ecnesse,
and on upcundra eadegum setlum
brucan blidnesse butan ende ford?"

CHAPTER III

Explanatary Notes on Individual Lines

Lines 1-9: These lines have attracted most of the critical attention given the poem. These range from passing remarks in surveys of Old English literature to rather elaborate and involved symbolic interpretations. The latter depends upon Patristic exegesis, and is represented by D. W. Robertson Jr. and Bernard Huppe. The former has included a one paragraph analysis of this scene in his well-known article, "The Doctrine of Charity in Medieval Literary Gardens: A Topical Approach through Symbolism and Allegory," Speculum XXVI (1951), 24-51. Helme bepeht, we are told, indicates "that the speaker is hiding from the sun of God's justice." The flowers represent the flesh, and the streams, worldly wisdom. The wood is "where Adam and Eve sought protection." In Doctrine and Poetry, Bernard Huppe devotes some fifteen pages to analyzing and interpreting these lines. His analysis is more thorough and less impressionistic than Robertson's, though in essence it agrees with his.

His argument is that the general rearrangement of the Old English, the additions and refocusing on certain concrete details, suggest two different audiences--the learned for the Latin, and the unlearned for the Old

English. The Garden of Eden is suggested in each poem, but in the Old English, the implications are sharper and easier to follow. There the tree is placed within a grove and in the midst of an enclosure. There is the addition of some water, which he reads as "fountains." There is additional prominence given to the agitation of the sky, and a proportionate reduction given to the flowers, which are not mentioned until l. 5, although first in the Latin.

As made clear in Chapter I, I do not feel that such an interpretation adds much to our understanding of the poem. Yet, in omnia caritas, it can be said that it does not hurt either. But some of his assumptions require a brief comment. Huppe, p. 88, calls attention to the loneliness of the speaker in the Old English poem. Ana does not necessarily suggest "lonely." Nor does he mention that the Latin maestus is not translated. In my reading, the speaker is apparently quite happy in his retreat until the storm hits. More important, however, is his central assumption that the vernacular version was intended for an unlearned audience. As we have noted, this poem of some three hundred lines has a strikingly significant number of hapax legomena and two loan words from High German. These matters of vocabulary would suggest a rather sophisticated audience, and I suspect that

the translation of any of Bede's works was looked upon as rather serious business. Likewise his assertion that the unlearned would know these symbols from the pulpit is only conjecture.

My major complaint with the Huppe analysis is that he never convinces me that these details "serve not only to give emphasis but also to enlarge the scope of his audience's interpretive understanding." In short, equating or being reminded by, the opening scene and the wretched state of Adam after the Fall does not seem to be particularly helpful in understanding the poem. To see the speaker as vaguely reminiscent of Adam, as somehow epitomizing Adam and all his stock, is interesting but not essential to the poem. In that the speaker is a man, he is by definition a fallen man. His analysis ends by emphasing a theme which is already amply clear.

As suggested earlier, we have here a vivid and memorable scene, that for its artistry and vocabulary somehow particularly impresses the critic. There is at once a strong feeling that we are dealing with the real world, and that we are going to be retold an event that happened to a real person. Such is the nature of these opening nine lines, that as the poem develops, undercutting the marked realism of the opening scene, we tend to go back to that scene and attempt to explain it.

The chief difficulty is that these nine lines are not referred to again in the poem, and do not seem pertinent to the ensuing dramatic action. These lines appear only to set the scene and the occasion for the ensuing dramatic confrontation with the self. Too, the vocabulary of these nine lines is quite slippery and ambiguous; there is much in the Old English that calls attention to itself, e.g., wæterburnan, wynwyrta. To equate these details with some other scene, such as the Garden of Eden, is quite tentative and unconvincing. At best certain points or details might suggest something else, some scene or symbol to the initiated, and for such a person, certain symbolic values may enrich his understanding and appreciation. But the point should be stressed again, that on the most literal of levels, this opening scene does make sense.

It seems perfectly reasonable that a person alone in the woods, amidst a violent wind storm, would be reminded first of his own possible death. That he would be reminded of the Second Coming is of course another matter, but we may accept it as a poetic fiction. It is interesting that a wind storm calls to his mind the Second Coming. It suggests he is someone well versed in Scripture, for of all the Gospel presages, the wind is not stressed. But on the literal level again, the scene is

coherent, with the added and quite obvious thematic message of man's forgetfulness, that man is brought up short now and then through a good fright.

Secondly, to attempt a precise reading, to attempt a precise reconstruction of this nine-line scene is fraught with danger. The symbols used here are vague and open to a multitude of readings, any of which, with a bit of help from an intent critic, can make sense. We shall advance some of these in a moment, but again, let it be said that none of these essentially add much to our total understanding and estimation of the poem, for on the literal level it is coherent. Finally, an expenditure of energy on Patristic symbol hunting may, and does as in Huppe's case, ignore the surface meaning, and the surface subtleties.

The tree or trees is the dominant image of this opening scene. There are three explicit references--1b, 2b, and 7a--and one implicit, 2a. This symbol has such a wealth of referents in the Christian tradition that to equate it only with the tree of Eden may be hasty. The Bible may be said to begin and conclude with a tree for the final chapter of the Apocalypse, 22.2, mentions the tree of life. Also the cross is often referred to as a tree, a second tree, compared and contrasted with the tree of Eden in the complex of ideas about the Second Adam.

In addition to being the symbol that suggests the Fall, the Redemption and the final fulfillment, the tree is also associated with the Second Coming, especially the imminence of it. In Mt. 24.32 and Mark 13.28 the parable of the fig tree is recounted. In Luke 21.29 the same parable is found, but it is added, "See the fig tree and all the trees." The fig tree appears again as an analogy in Apoc. 6.13 and here, suggestive of the opening scene, the wind is mentioned:

> And the stars from heaven fell upon the earth, as the fig tree casteth its green figs when it is shaken by a great wind.

The tree refers to the actual Judgment as well, in Mt. 3.10 and 7.16-19. In our poem however, the trees are in no way delineated other than affording protection or coverage. Their waving and swaying in the wind is the one thing that seizes the speaker's imagination. In this action we see the suggestion of the Judgment itself.

The <u>wæterburnan</u> which are not mentioned in the Latin poem may have been suggested by another Latin poem, <u>De Pascha</u> by Victorinus. In the depiction of the cosmological tree, there are verbal resemblances to the opening of the Bede poem:

> Ecce sub ingentí ramorum tegminis umbra
> fons erat: hic nullo casu turbante serenum
> Perspicuis inlimis aquis, et gramina circum
> Fundebant laetos vario de flore colores.
> ll. 26-29.

Bede's Latin poem opens:

Inter florigeras fecundi cespitis herbas
Flamine ventorum resonantibus undique ramos
Arboris umbriferae moestus sub tegmine solus
Dum sedi subito planctu turbatus amaro.

The fact that Bede knew the earlier poem is established by his inserting vss. 1-2 in Ch. 2 of De locis sanctis. This scene from De Pascha has the tree, the shade, the flowers in language that suggests the later Latin poem, and the water that appears in the Old English. There are however significant differences. The fountain is always calm, and there is no mention of wind. Yet the verbal resemblances between this poem and Bede's and the same details appearing in all three poems is striking. Furthermore, De pascha has a totally different theme and organization from our poem, so we need not demand total duplication.

The gehæge may also suggest more than the Garden of Eden. As a garden it may suggest Joel 2.3, a graphic description of the dies irae: "Before the face thereof a devouring fire, and behind it a burning flame: the land is like a garden of pleasure before it, and behind it a desolate wilderness: neither is there any one that can escape it." As a meadow, gehæge would suggest the final harvest spoken of in Mt. 13.40.

The garden image also suggests the monastery, as discussed by Jean Leclercq in The Love of Learning and the Desire for God, trans. Catharine Misrahi (New York, Mentor

Books, 1962), pp. 135-137. The examples of such symbolism quoted by Leclercq antedate Bede but not necessarily the Old English version. In an earlier article, Leclercq discusses this symbolism in more detail, "Deux opuscules sur la formation des jeunes moines," Revue d'Ascetique et de mystique, XXXIII (1957), 387-399.

Such an interpretation would be somewhat like Huppe's, the only difference being that instead of suggesting Eden, such an interpretation would identify the poem as a product of monastic culture. Yet, as Leclercq points out in Ch. 4, "Devotion to Heaven," monastic culture and its literature is marked by a positive longing for Heaven, and the elaborate depictions of Heaven based upon the Apocalypse and the Canticle of Canticles. Here our poem is strangely atypical again in its description of Heaven.

Finally, this opening scene in addition to all these suggestions has still one more possible symbol, a Classical one. Shade and the spring or brook is in Classical literature, Virgil's Eclogues in particular, the scene of poetic composition. This influence is pointed out by Ernst Robert Curtius in European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages, trans. Willard R. Trask (New York, 1953), pp. 186-187. Such a suggestion would show the fusing of the two cultures without doing violence to either.

Let it be stressed again that the scene is highly suggestive but will not lend itself to only one reading. The vocabulary is ambiguous, the scene is short, and most important, the scene is not referred to again in the poem. Furthermore the scene is clear and consistent on the most literal of levels. Also an undue concern with the symbol does distract from the text, especially the language of the poet. Mindful of the Benedictine Rule, he has so constructed and verbalized this scene as to represent self-judgment and suggest the actual and later Last Judgment.

Each detail in this first scene anticipates the later scene, sometimes by verbal echoes, sometimes by a sort of pun, and sometimes by an image. These details and their verbal embodiments, we suggest, are not by accident, and while the scene and the occasion for the <u>unhyrlican fers</u> is clear and self-consistent, the new dimension is apparent when we come to the later Judgment scene. Then we are aware of the parallels and echoes, and come to realize that the initial scene has been an anticipation of the later. Whatever else symbolic readings can suggest is ultimately ancillary. All of the readings suggested in this note are useful if for nothing more than to show the wealth of symbolic association in the Christian literary tradition. However they are all periphery to a close examination of the text.

1a Hwæt ic ana sæt: Huppe reads ana as "lonely;" Clark Hall has such a citation, And 258a ane ægflotan. The rhyme hwæt-sæt is paralleled by Hwæt þæt sawl min, PPs 129-5a. Hwæt is used traditionally to introduce exalted or legendary subject matter, such as in Beowulf, Andreas, and Exodus. Perhaps we may account for its use here, in an otherwise personal and meditative poem, as an attempt to universalize the subject matter and, obliquely, to pay homage to the figure of Bede. The significance of sitting is revealed in the later Judgment scene, when Christ sits upon His throne, but Gregory interprets sitting as a sign of Judgment in Homily 29, XL Hom. in Evang., Lib. II, PL 76.1295.

2a mid helme beþeht: The shade is explicit in the Latin umbriferae and is a justified inference for one of the central meanings of the word is "foliage, especially the upper reaches of a tree,"--Bosworth-Toller. But the nice ambiguity is seen in the other and equally central meanings, such as "crown" and "protection." The phrase anticipates the later characterization of Christ as helme beweordiad (l. 118b) and suggests the speaker has a sense of security and protection in the grove and that he is assuming the Christ-like pose prior to the forthcoming rigorous self-examination. Curiously, though the line is not formulaic, no other instance of beþeccan yielding

a B line, it does echo lyfthelme beþeaht, Exo 60b. Both lines are striking if for nothing more than an original and daring use of language. The verb is usually found with such words as þrosme, þystrum, wolcnum, and foldan, all of which are found in the poem and attest again to the singular reworking of a traditional phrase.

3a þær þa wæterburnan, introduces our first hapax legomenon. This is the only citation in Bosworth-Toller. Though the scribe considered it as two words, the compound may be compared to under beamsceade druncon burnan wæter, MBo 8.28. The second part of the compound means variously "stream" or "well" so that the compound seems pointlessly redundant. It may be that the poet needed a lift for the line, and wæter provided him with a neutral, non-descriptive word. Yet the lack of alliteration in the line, slight rhyme and singular compound contribute to the suspicion that the poet may have wanted to call attention to the image. This detail of the water is not in the Latin, and the redundancy of wæterburnan calls attention to the obvious, with perhaps the suggestion of there being another kind of stream. In the Judgment depiction, we see that there is. Finally there is some verbal punning in -burnan and the later bærnd of l. 167b.

3b swegdon and urnon: The first verb is found in the poetry only here and l. 7b below. Translating it in this line is difficult for it can mean "sound," "modulated sound," or "roar." In keeping with the general serenity of the scene, "sounded" is justified. In any event the speaker was not terrified by the sound. Here is the first occurrence of the doubled verbs, a stylistic device of this poet. In this instance the verbs are not precisely synonymous and do each in its own way add additional information. In many other instances such is not the case. The emphasis upon sound anticipates the later Judgment scene, both in the roaring of the sea as a presage and the crackling of the fiery flood. The rhyme, solely on the inflectional suffix, may have been allowed and wæter-swegdon may have supplied an approximate alliteration.

4a on middan gehæge. Gehæge is found only here in the poetic corpus. It can mean "garden" or "meadow," the central idea being an enclosed place. Whatever meaning, this detail is added by the Old English poet. Leclercq notes that all references to a garden in monastic literature recall Eden "since eschatology never loses its rights, every garden where spiritual delights are found, recalls Paradise and is described in the lush images which, in the Bible, depicted the garden of the Spouse or of the

first Adam." (Love of Learning, p. 136). I doubt that our scene qualifies with respect to "spiritual delights" and "lush images." The line alliterates if we posit a silent "h." If a meadow, an analogy from Gregory the Great suggests the speaker is the forgetful man. In the conclusion to Homily 14, XL Hom in Evang, Lib I, PL 76. 1095, we are exhorted not to be like the foolish traveler who seeing a pleasant meadow forgets about his journey. Forgetfulness is one of the key ideas stressed in the section immediately following the opening scene, as well as in the exhortative links. Yet like all Patristic exegesis brought to bear on this poem, this reference too is not without a certain difficulty. The speaker never identifies himself or what he was previously doing. We are simply told, "I sat alone." To link gehæge with Gregory's analogy is another instance of the peripheral. The word can mean "garden" as Bosworth-Toller suggests, citing some glosses of Aldhelm's De virginitate, hortus and pratum. In either event, the word is of low frequency, and for the purposes of the literal, we may note the paradoxical contrast: what is enclosed now will lie open at the Judgment.

4b eal swa ic secge reiterates the fact that we are involved in a real action of a real person, but why we are reminded of this fact only four lines after ic ana sæt is

puzzling. In my reading this line is an assertion by the poet that he is shaping or fashioning his own work, according to his own instinct and the demands of Old English prosody. Such a reading has its own difficulties, the chief being that it is unverifiable. The line, standing alone, does make sense without further comment or elaboration. Yet there is the same technique at work here that is typical of the poet. Just as the full verbal significance of the opening scene is not realized until the later and actual Judgment scene, so too here, the significance of this line is not realized until the companion line 12a eall swylce þu cwæde. The echoes and parallelism are unmistakable, but only at the later line do we realize that the earlier line has more significance than was at first apparent.

5b Eac þær wynwyrta: The compound is found only here in the poetry, and is the only citation in Bosworth-Toller. Unlike the earlier wæterburnan this compound, while self-explanatory, is not redundant and hence does not call attention to itself. The Latin florigeras is not rendered exactly, though flowers might be inferred. We might see these slight but discernible differences as being dictated by metrical and alliterative considerations, though the Old English poet certainly has no constricted vocabulary. I prefer to see these very slight changes as deliberate, as testifying to his own liberty as a trans-

lator and his own genius as a poet. There are portions of the poem where the Old English poet is virtually interlinear, and other places where he is quite free. Perhaps he felt that certain portions could be freely adapted with no damage to the original.

5b weoxon and bleowon: The second verb has again a suggestion of word play. The preterit of blowan and blawan is identical: and the latter verb is used in the Judgment scene blawaþ and braslaþ, 152b, characterizing the fiery flood about to fall upon the damned.

6a innon þam gemonge: Gemonge is again an ambiguous word. The word has certain legal or legislative denotations, "assembly" and "assembly place" which anticipate the later Judgment scene and are quite in keeping with the thoroughgoing legalistic view of the Judgment and sin that marks much of the poem. If we take gemong as "crowd" we are obliged to supply something to complete the sense, "crowd of _____." Bosworth Toller Suppl. reads "crowd of rivers" but a better choice would be the trees that are referred to so often. The image here suggests to me the forthcoming Judgment scene.

6b on ænlicum wonge: The ambiguity of ænlicum fits in quite well here. "Wondrous" would suggest the contentedness of the speaker, and "singular" or "unique" would

anticipate the later scene.

7b wagedon and swegdon: There is difficulty in punctuating this line. It is tempting to place a period here but 8a suggests the cause of the bending and the sounding of the trees.

8a þurh winda gryre: The syntax here is a bit clouded, and this line seems to fit both the preceding statement about the forest trees, and the following about the agitated sky. Huppe notes this unusual syntax and labels the device as "double reference." Huppe is quite right about the total effect of the syntactical arrangement. The ordering of the elements reflects the action of the speaker, thus eliminating the need for conjunctions. The trees' swaying and roaring are first perceived, then their cause ascertained--the wind--which necessitates his raising his head to scan the sky. The action might explain the choppy non-sequential syntax. Winda is plural because of the Latin ventorum; but the following undique--"from all sides"--is not translated.

We might ask how traditional it was to equate the wind or a wind storm with the Second Coming. The English critic, L. Whitbread cites the vento magno of Apoc. 6.13, and in a "Postscript," remarks: "The opening device in the Versus of bringing in a sudden harsh wind as a warning of Judgment Day had a very real meaning for Bede.

In HE IV.3 there is the example of "Ceadda" who paid heed to warnings of the elements. Chad would quote Ps. 17.13 f. Plummer notes, (II, 209) that Bede puts a very similar construction in his commentary on Ezra 10.9."--"A Study," p. 220. In addition we may note these Old Testament references: Soph. 1.15; Jer. 30.23; Ez. 30.3; Joel 2.2. However, the pertinent sections dealing with the Second Coming in the Gospels do not mention wind, except Luke 21.25, and here only by inference. Of all the signs of the Second Coming the wind is probably the safest as suggesting the Second Coming without implying its imminence. In homiletics the wind is associated with the Last Judgment. Augustine is found associating the wind with the winnowing of grain, see Ennar. in Psalmos XLIX, PL 36.576. See also the same elaboration in Tractatus in Joannis, PL 35.1406. The same idea is found often in Gregory, see especially Homily 1 and 2 in Hom In Ez, Lib I, PL 76-790 ff., and see Moralia 18.19.31, PL 76.53, Tempestate vero nomine, judicii turbinem designat.

In addition to being a portent of the Second Coming, the wind is also a vehicle for the appearance of God, as in Job and the wind associated with the Pentecost. Here we might cite the rendering of PPs. 147.7:

> He his word sendeđ þuruh windes gast
> blaweđ beorhtlice burnan flowed
> and to wætere weorđeđ sniowe

which is notable for the similarity of phrase, þuruh windes gast-þurh winda gryre and the appearance of the elements of the compound wæterburnan, 3a. The wind as a benign element is also stressed in the sermon on the feast of the Annunciation, March 25. The passage is striking for the association of wind--expressed in a poetic phrase--hearing, and the tree:

> Sancta Maria was eacen geworden . . . þurh
> þæs englas word and þurh hira earena gehyrnesse,
> swa þas treowa þonne hi blostniađ þurh þæs
> windes blæd.

(An Old English Martyrology, ed. G. Herzfeld, EETS Original Series 116 /London, 1900/, p. 48). To sum up, the wind is a traditional sign or portent of the Second Coming, and can be a benign symbol. It is this two-sided nature of the symbol at work here.

9a and min earme mod: Here is the first appearance of earme, this poet's favorite epithet.

9b eal wæs gedrefed: The line is echoed in 103b miclum gedrefed as is the on-verse. The emphasis on one aspect of the speaker suggests the address to the self and other individualized members of the body. Eal as an alliterating word, especially with earme as here, is typical of the poet.

10b forht and unrot: The doubled adjective is also typical.

11a þas unhyrlican fers contains two hapax legomena. Unhirlic meaning "dismal, doleful," is cited in Bosworth-Toller with this line. But the first meaning, "fierce, savage" may be more accurate as suggesting the severity and self-hatred that characterize the poem. Since this is the only appearance of the word in the poetry, we may note the two other citations in Bosworth-Toller: þa cwom þær swiðe micel wind and to dæs unheorlic se wind geweox þæt he þara ura getelda monige afylde, Nar. 22, 28. Unhierlic storm of þæm munte astag. Blick. Homl. 203,7. In both there is a connection with the wind or the storm, and this association may have suggested the word to the poet. The fers will be fierce and savage, and may also catch up the reader in an unhirlic storm.

11b onhefde mid sange: This form of the preterit is exceptional, though Clark Hall notes "(occl. wk. pret. onhefde)."

12a eall swylce þu cwæde echoes the earlier eal swa ic sæge, 4b. The referent of þu is not clear, and as yet no satisfactory explanation has been advanced. Huppe, noting the parallels between the two lines, suggests that the later line indicates that the speaker is listening to the wind, symbolically the voice of God. He presents a convincing argument, mainly because it does not depend exclusively on Patristic exegesis. Moreover, the two lines which seem to echo one another are united

in his analysis. Yet I wonder whether these unhyrlican fers can be characterized as "penitential song" and whether the speaker "is restored to God in charity," as Huppe suggests. These verses are addressed to the self, not to God, and the reluctance of the self to amend his ways is the occasion for the further depiction of the fates of the damned and the blessed.

I suggest that in this line the Old English poet is acknowledging his debt to Bede and attesting to his faithfulness as a translator. If the earlier eall swa ic secge affirms his independence, however limited, as a poet, this line affirms the completeness of the translation. Thus read, the eall which is a lift would suggest all the verses of the Latin that Bede wrote. This suggestion would, I am aware, be more convincing were the operative verb "wrote" "composed," or even "sang." Yet perhaps such a word would not contrast with the earlier secge sharply enough to make the point.

13b and þa langan tid is a troublesome line, first because the "long" is in no way an accurate rendering of the Latin inamabile. The manuscript here is faulty, -gan being added on an oblique and actually written over the tid. On the basis of on þas lænan tid, Glc 967a and Vgl 10b, I thought lænan was the original reading, though I admit that reading "vain" for the Latin inamabile was not

much better than the manuscript langan. Löhe, following the Latin, emends to laðlic but this has not been accepted.

Yet the question of "long" still remains. Considerations of the imminence of the Second Coming may have dictated this change, granting even that the original may have been laðlic. For the speaker of the Latin seems to imply that the Second Coming will be seen or experienced in his own day. The copy of the Old English manuscript is quite late, and perhaps this emendation reflects the unrest of that period around the year 1000. As I have earlier suggested, the "long" may be read or understood as "long in coming." In all the speculation about the Second Coming and the Last Judgment, there is oddly little discussion of the duration of the Judgment itself. Most of the Fathers' attention was directed to calculating when the Second Coming might be expected. At best there is a rather vague idea that at the Last Judgment time will be suspended and therefore the duration of the event will be of no importance, or that the Judgment itself will be accomplished in an instant. Augustine in De civitate dei Bk. XX, Ch. 1, confesses that the length of the Judgment is unknowable, for "day" is used figuratively in Scripture. The only reference to the length of Doomsday I have been able to find is

from Old Irish literature, in a survey by St. John D. Seymour, "The Eschatology of the Early Irish Church," ZfCP XIV (1923) 179-211. However the length of Doomsday in three poems refers to the punishment by fire of the damned after the Judgment, not to the Judgment itself. The first poem, Fifteen Tokens of Doomsday, is not dated, the second, Poem on the Day of Judgment, is "possibly of the 10th Century" and the last, Tidings of Doomsday, "perhaps not earlier than the 11th Century." The explicit references to the duration of the fire as a thousand years in the first and last poems may explain the langan tid of our poem. In all three, the sequence of Judgment and then fire agrees with our poem.

The syntax of this and the following line demands a careful analysis. I would read line 14 as being in apposition with and þa langan tid without an "of;" thus I would translate

and the long time,
the coming of dark death upon the earth.

Taking cyme as accusative--the "of the coming of dark death" would require cymes--the focus of the speaker's attention may not be on the duration of the Judgment, or the imminence of the Second Coming, but on the duration of the calamities that would precede the appearance of the actual portents such as are mentioned in the Judgment section. Such calamities and their chronology are found

in the popular literature. Much like the apocrypha, these lists were never verified by the Church, but could be drawn upon. Such an example will be found in Sermon 33 of Early English Homilies.

Whether the "long time" refers to calamities, or even, through a hasty reading, to the Judgment itself, the phrase, couched in a B line, following two A lines does call attention to itself, and langan, a lift, has a psychological force upon the reader. While the question of imminence is not discussed directly, it can be suggested.

14b deaðes on eorðan: The poet is fond of the phrase _____ on eorðan, and uses it often elsewhere in the poem. We may also mention the separation of the adjective dimman in 14a from its noun deaðes, paralleled in l. 17. The epithet "dark death" is certainly traditional, and its use here further delineates the condition of the speaker; he is in physical darkness and, it is suggested, a spiritual darkness as well.

16a for mandædum: This line which repeats 13a lifes leahtra is explained by the Latin. There the speaker remembers scelerum commissa meorum and maculas vitae. Though the two Old English words are synonymous, perhaps this second has a legalistic connotation that leahtor does not have.

17a and þæt ece ic eac is striking for its cacophony, achieved by piling up the /c̄/sound. Assuming this is not accidental, perhaps this sound suggested torment or anguish, the stridor dentium of the damned. If so, the succession of these three, followed by a pause, and then yrre would have been a vocal effect appreciated by the audience. The same possible effect will be noted in 23a.

18a and synfulra gehwam: In this line, we note the widening of the speaker's vision, and it continues for the next two lines. The legalism of the Latin reis is not translated well by synfulra.

20a todæled and todemed: Todeman is not recorded elsewhere in the poetry, but the doubled intensifier "tō" makes for a striking phrase, one of the few times that the doubling of near synonyms is effective. Under the latter verb, Bosworth-Toller cites, in addition to this line, toscæt and todemed: dijudicat, Ps. Lamb. 81.1.

21a Ic gemunde eac: Here is another instance of eac as an alliterating word. Of interest too is the beginning of another sentence. These three lines (21-23) translate a single Latin hexameter gaudia sanctorum necnon poenasque malorum. Since in the Latin six hexameters are governed

by the single participle commemorans the Old English poet had to break this section down into two sentences, the first with ondrædan and the second with gemunian--an example of his ability to vary his syntax and vocabulary.

23b yfel and witu: Yfel is an emendation by Lumby and generally accepted, the manuscript reading yfes which would render "eaves, brim, brink, edge." This conceivably might refer to Hell, but swylce and the Latin poenas make this very doubtful.

24a ic gemunde þis mid me: This seven syllable line with the lifts falling on -mund-, þis, and me would, by its length, emphasize the internalized nature of the drama.

25b mode gedrefed: Lines 24 and 25 are a translation of the Latin Haec memorans mecum tacito sub murmure dixi (l. 12). This is probably one of his least effective translations. Tacito sub murmure is not translated, perhaps feeling that the earlier þas unhyrlican fers onhefde mid sange would be undercut, or perhaps his skill as a poet could not fit this concept into an acceptable alliterative pattern. In any event failing to translate this idea, he was forced to repeat himself and limit himself to short choppy sentences. Three occurrences of ic in two lines is excessive, and the repetition of

mearn and murcnigende is not effective. He does, however, seem to have realized his failing and perhaps the two long D and E on-verses balanced with a five syllable C and A1 off-verses were felt to be as graceful a solution as possible, enhanced by two consecutive lines with strong "m" alliteration.

26a nu ic eow ædran: The veins, here addressed as ædran, are asked to release their tears, first as a sign of repentance, and as a purgative element in the later unfolding medicinal metaphor. This metaphor which varies between sin as a poison and as a wound is connected ironically with the later characterization of the avenging fire as attrenum, 146b, through the verbal play.

26b ealle bidde: The use of eall(e) for alliteration is quite characteristic of this poet. In addition to beginning with a vowel, the word was quite handy because of the optional final syllable which provides an often needed drop. In the many instances of its use in the poem, the expanded form appears only when needed.

27a þæt ge wylspringas: The compound appears only here in the poetry.

27b Wel ontynan: The choice of wel with its near rhyme with wyl- is surprising, but perhaps dictated by the alliteration.

28 hat of hleorum recene to tearum is another instance of homeoptoton.

29b swiðe mid fyste: Since this phrase is later echoed in the depiction of the damned before the avenging fire, forhte mid fyste, l. 161b, we have another example of modeling the self-judgment on the later Judgment.

30b on gebedstowe: This detail is not found in the Latin. The reference is not especially clear. Does it refer to the bearwe of l. 1b, and if so, does it suggest the speaker is a hermit? One is tempted to see here the monastic origins of the poem, but the citations for this word and gebedhus in Bosworth-Toller suggest that neither word is so restricted.

32a and geearnade sar is a rare example of an E line with a short half lift. The and here and in the preceding on-verse, translating the Latin membra solo sternam, meritosque ciebo dolores points up the different ways each language signals coordination. English has no equivalent to the Latin enclitic, and the poet apparently did not wish or was unable to show a series without and.

33 ic bidde eow benum nu þa is paralleled by Psm 50 68, þy ic þe mid benum biddan wille.

34a þæt ge ne wandian: The Sprachschatz has only two other citations for wandian, suggestive perhaps of the

late date of composition: Mal. 258a, 268a.

37a and geopeniað man: The verb means "to show, open, reveal" and the means of effecting this is not made clear until 41a. Seemingly, this is addressed to the æddran of l. 26a, but how the veins might reveal sin is not made clear, unless a purging effect is intended or a washing away to reveal the sin. The Latin here et reserate nefas Christo cum voce gementi is clearer as to the means, but the confusion of asking the veins to speak is found here too. This confusion is slight, for later we shall see the tongue and the mind are addressed.

38b inne ne belife: The verb is found in the poetry only here. There is a slight shift from the Latin lateat to the Old English belifan but Clark Hall cites the participle belifen-"dead" used in the translation of Orosius. Perhaps the Old English poet is playing on that denotation here, suggesting the spiritual state of the speaker.

39a on heortscræfe, an apparently original compound, for this is the sole citation in Bosworth-Toller. A self-explanatory compound, yet another instance of the poet's bent for a distinctive vocabulary. In this case, this singular translation of the Latin cordis in antro is more than a tour de force, for this striking compound is echoed later in on þystrum scræfum 140a and on blindum

scræfe 231a, and contributes to the metaphorical definition of sin. The "heart-hole" here recalls the opening innan bearwe as another instance of individual secrecy, concealment, and blindness. The compound may have been suggested by eorðscræfe in Wan 84a and And 780a.

40a þæt hit ne sy dægcuð: The compound is recorded only here. As mentioned in the first chapter, what is lost here of a metaphor in the Latin luci becomes, in its own right, an element in the continuing metaphor of light and dark. The compound is echoed by the later dægtid of the Judgment scene, 136b.

What is being subtly alluded to is the Patristic theory of the double Judgment, that, simply, means that God already knows all and has already judged all, and his Judgment only awaits to be revealed. From His view nothing can be hidden, so that all of man's secrecy is essentially self-deceptive. What is stressed in the homiletics of Augustine and Gregory is that the uneasy conscience resulting from the secret Judgment anticipates the horror of the later open Judgment, and is a warning to us to prepare and amend our ways. From this, especially in Augustine, the theme of fear and the metaphor of Christ the physician, used in this poem quite centrally, both often arise from a discussion of the double Judgment.

40b þæt þæt dihle wæs: The dihle recalls the characterization of Christ the Judge þurh his dihlan miht, 20b, and anticipates digle geðancas, 136a. The three occurrences of þæt in this line, especially the two in the off-verse, is paralleled by And 1437 þæt þæt geweorðed þæt þeos wlitige gesceaft.

41a openum wordum: This phrase apparently completes the earlier and geopeniað man, 37a, and perhaps was positioned here to avoid a repetition. The expression here and the later references to speaking such as 66b raises the question of confession. Though private, oracular confession was known to Bede, there also existed public and mutual. With no apparent reference to the agency of the priesthood, such as exists in Crist III, we cannot conclude what type of confession is referred too. Indeed all the references in the poem direct the "self" to speak directly to Christ, preferably aloud, as the example of St. Dismas, 63a, suggests.

41b eall abæred: This is the only instance of the verb appearing in the poetry.

42a breostes and tungan: This and the off-verse are related to the earlier heanra gylta of 39b and their separation is explained by the absence of the repeated object of the Latin pectoris et linguae, carnis vel crimina

saeva. The separation, the lack of alliteration or rhyme would suggest some line may have dropped out, yet the sense is complete.

42b and flæsces swa some is an often used formula, but I wonder that the poet did not turn to an adjective for the lift of the off-verse. We might see here an indication of the overuse of the formula, and his hesitancy to add freely. Yet the three Latin lines equal only five Old English, where we should expect six, but this ratio is not inviolable.

43a Ðis is an hælu: Although this can be scanned as an A2b line, A2b and A2ab lines show compounding, and an hæl is no compound. I have emended hæl in the manuscript to hælu which with the final drop would scan as a C line, provide alliteration, and stress the right words.

43b earmre sauwle: This line is identical with the Latin Haec est sola salus animae (22) but for the adjective of the Old English. The choice is typical and metrically useful, but this performance, however mechanical and interlinear it may be, coming right after a line without alliteration, makes that line even more suspect.

45b wope gecyðe: The manuscript wopa has been emended to wope following all other editions. The Latin is simply reserare which gecyðan would approximate, but with the

added suggestion of the oral. The metaphor of Christus Medicus that marks lines 43 through 70 is essentially Augustinian. It has been studied by Rudolf Arbesmann, O.S.B., "The Concept of 'Christus Medicus' in St. Augustine," Traditio X (1954) 1-28. Augustine often combines this metaphor with confession: Adhibet medicus fomenta verborum et aliquando secat; adhibet medicinale ferrum in correptione tribulationis: tu agnosce medici manum; confitere, exeat in confessione et defluat omnis sanies, En in Ps LXVI, PL 36.808. Confession is also an emetic: Confitentur enim peccata sua, vomunt mala quae avide voraverunt, En in Ps XCV, PL 36.2132.

46a uplicum læce: This literal translation of the Latin medico . . . superno has again a concentration of the /$\overset{v}{c}$/ sound, perhaps suggesting the wope of 45b.

46b se ana mæg. The lift on ana recalls the opening Hwæt ic ana sæt, thus emphasizing the direct confrontation between Christ and the sinner, and foreshadowing the coming Judgment.

47a a glidene gyltas mod: This is one of the few instances of manuscript problems. The manuscript here reads a glidene gyltas mod god gode gehælan. Dobbie, p. 178, summarizes the various textual arguments, and prints aglidene mod gode gehælan suggested by Brandl, Anglia

IV, 102, as the reading which seems to give the most satisfactory sense. I prefer to retain the manuscript gyltas which Brandl predicates may have crept into the text as a gloss. I prefer to see it as another example of the verbal facility of the Old English poet. So allowed, we would have a seven syllable line, which the poet has produced already in lines 24a and 25a, and we shall see other examples later. Secondly glidene gyltas mod with its wrenched syntax, seems worthy of this poet. There are other examples of double objects without and such as in 126b mihtleas afæred; and the separation of adjective and noun object has been noted already. The poetical effect of one adjective seeming to modify two nouns is paralled in the earlier l. 14. In this instance, the effect of gyltas while syntactially a parallel object of gehælan, is so juxtaposed to suggest the cause of the glidene mod while picturing it in a neat, precise image, enforced by the double /g/ alliteration, yet syntactically separate because of the -as. Gyltas was probably suggested by the earlier wunda and it is certainly true that the Divine Physician heals both the wound and the patient. The compression and meta-syntactical effect would be lost were an and inserted. My scansion of this on-verse as a D line, while bringing the last two words together that are syntactically

unrelated is a possible objection to my reading. Yet the total effect gained, is, I feel, worth making this an exception. This line, if I am reading it correctly, has something of a Hopkins ring to it, and the effect and the compression are almost impossible to translate, but it would be "He alone may well heal the sin, the sliding under-the-sin mind." Finally I would read a glidene not aglidene for two reasons. As Dobbie points out aglidene is cited in Bosworth-Toller Suppl. p. 29, but there are only three citations. Secondly, the manuscript has the "a" separated, but more important, the "a" is so printed as to call attention to itself, the right stroke being exceptionally heavy and raised as high as an "l." There are only two other instances of such an "a" in the manuscript, ac, 61b, and the first "a" in Maria, 295a. The other instance of a, 274a, þær a andweard is not exceptional for its stroke, darkness, or height, but is as clearly separated from the following andweard as this a is from glidene. The adverbial a does not, it is true, usually begin a verse, but see Gen 915b, And 64b, Chr 300b and 405b. I suggest that its exceptional position here suggests a rather special meaning, "denoting continuity or continual recurrence in temporary matters": Bosworth-Toller Suppl., and as such would correspond to the Latin solet-"accustomed." Thus

a can be translated as "ever" or "over and over" both of which are doctrinally justified.

48a and rǽplingas: The word occurs only here in the poetry. The allusion is probably to Is. 42.7, a prophetic characterization of the Messiah. There may also be an allusion to Ps. 68.34, and so the word is cited in Bosworth-Toller for Ps. Spl. But the Isaiah citation with its reference to making the blind see, and leading out those who sit in darkness, is certainly more relevant here. The mention of "prisoners" suggests the older view of redemption, that stressed through sin man had become subject to the Devil, and was rescued only because the Devil claimed authority over the only Man who had not sinned. This view is implied in The Dream of the Rood. For a summary of this view with the later one that stressed the humanity of Christ, see R. W. Southern, The Making of the Middle Ages (London, 1953), pp. 234-235.

48b recene onbindan is faintly suggestive of the "Harrowing of Hell" tradition.

49b swyþe nele brysan, is the only appearance of the verb in the poetry. The alliteration of the near-rhyme swiðran-swyþe was also seen in l. 27.

50a wanhydige mod: This phrase is, at first glance, a

misreading of the Latin calamos, but the Latin Beta manuscript reads animos. The manuscript wan hydig gemod has been emended to wanhydige mod as suggested by Löhe.

51a ne þone wlacan smocan: The adjective and the noun are found only here in the poetry.

51b waces flæsces: I, as Lumby did, retain the manuscript reading here, Dobbie printing fleaxes in accordance with the Latin lini as suggested by Brandl, Anglia IV 103, and Löhe. Flæsc would parallel mod of 50a. Waccbifiende is the gloss for Quassatam in the Lindisfarne Gospel reading of Mt. 12.20, but there it refers to the reed, not the flax. In the Latin poem, the lini is not characterized, and in this line, the alliteration and near-rhyme of wlacan and waces suggest the flesh is burning and emitting a weak smoke that affords little concealment.

52a wyle waldend Crist is a variation of the earlier 50b. The variant spellings appear on different lines, the "ea" on l. 30, and the "a" on l. 31 of the manuscript, but oddly, waldend appears almost directly under wealdend.

52b wæter gedwæscan: the "ge" prefixed form of the verb occurs only here in the poetry, and has only one other

citation in Bosworth-Toller Suppl., but adwæscan and dwæscan appear in Alm 6a, MBo 20.120a, Chr 486b, Phx 456b, and Xst 305a. The line ironically anticipates the later drowning by fire by emphasizing the wætere; such emphasis is achieved by the inverted syntax, by the "w" alliteration in two consecutive lines, and the word itself appearing last. Furthermore, in the formulas cited above, the verb is usually associated with extinguishing something harmful, for example, feondscype, leahtras, synne, and leg. With such lexical associations, the formula occurring here with a negative and with wætere itself may suggest the later extinguishing.

This characterization of Christ appears twice in Scripture. The first in Is. 42.3 is Messianic: Calamum quassatum non conteret, et linum fumigans non extinguet; and the same words are paraphrased by Christ in Mt. 12.20: arundinem quassatam non confringet, et linum fumigans non exstinguet. In the context of the poem these images suggest the patience of Christ, and are appropriate here. Further, only the first part of the verse is paraphrased, and the rest which is also appropriate may be implied. In both instances the rest of the verse refers to the Judgment, that the reed shall not be broken and the flax not extinguished until the Judgment: in veritate judiciem educet in Isaiah, and donec ejiciat ad victoriam judicium in Matthew.

The next verse in Matthew, 12.21, et in nomine ejus gentes sperabunt, may also be implied, for as the Patristic commentary shows, this reference to the nations was often associated with the spread of the Gospel.

The whole of Mt. 12 has references to healing, both physical, vs. 13, and spiritual, vs. 22, the casting out of devils, and the Judgment, vs. 36, and the mode of Judgment implied in vs. 37. It may not be wise to suggest that the reference in the poem would suggest the whole of the chapter, but anyone who did recognize the reference to the reed and the burning flax would recall donec ejiciat ad victoriam judicium; et in nomine ejus gentes sperabunt.

The commentary on the line is quite varied, and will now be summarized. St. Hilary, Bishop of Poitiers, interprets the passage as an admonishment and a calling of the nations to Judgment. The broken reed symbolizes caduca et quassanta gentium corpora non fuisse contrita, sed in salutem potius reservata, and the smoking flax neque exiguitatem ignis tantum jam in lino fumigantis exstinctam, exiguum Israel ex religuiis veteris gratiae spiritum non ablatum. The broken reed suggests also the resurrection of Christ and His later return in glory, see Ch. XII.10, Comm. in Mattheum, PL 9.986-987.

St. Jerome, commenting on the verse in Isaiah, equates the broken reed with the patience of Christ, and the smoking flax vaguely with the mercy of the Lord on the Judgment Day, but Jerome attests to the truth of the Judgment:

> Calamum quassatum, sive confractum non conteret. Cunctis enim placabilis erit, veniam dabit peccatoribus, dicens ad mulierum: "Confide, filia, dimittuntur tibi peccata" (Luc. 7.48). "Et linum fumigans," sive ut caeteri transtulerunt, Obscurum" atque "tenebrosum, non exstinguet": qui vicini erant exstinctioni, Domini clementia servabuntur (quae super Judaeis et nationibus in supradictis opusculis disservimus); sed cum veritate omnia judicabit; nequaquam hypocritas appellabat.
>
> Comm. in Is. PL 24.421-422

This interpretation is quoted almost exactly by Isidore of Seville in Ch. XXX, Lib. I De Fide Catholica Contra Judaeos, PL 83.482. In his commentary on the verse in Matthew, however, St. Jerome presents an ethical and social interpretation. Here he stresses the Christian's duty to help the sinner and rekindle the smallest spark of faith, and he who fails to, breaks the reed and quenches the smoke, and will be answerable to Christ for his failure:

> Qui peccatori non porrigit manum, nec portat onus fratris sui, iste calamum quassatum confringit. Et qui modicam scintillam fidei contemnit in parvulis, hic linum exstinguit fumigans. Quorum neutrum Christus fecit, ad hoc enim venerat, ut salvum faceret quod perierat.
>
> Comm. in Mt. PL 26.895

Bede's commentary combines both the historical and

ethical view. He equates the broken reed with the Jewish nation that failed in both faith and charity. The patience theme is implied. The ethical interpretation is much like Jerome's but is more detailed and explicit:

> "Arundinem quassantam non confringet." Israelicicum populum, licet unum sit regnum, arundinem quassantam nominat, quia firmamentum fidei, vinculumque charitatis invicem observare neglexit, quod confringere noluit, quia locum ejus perditionis in nece ejus praebere distulit, aliter arundinem quassantam confringet, quia modo in Ecclesia quilibet peccator solatium sive in doctrina, sive in exemplis, sive in quocumque sui indiguerit, negat.

Similarly the smoking flax Bede interprets as the error of the gentiles, suggestive of Hilary's interpretation. The ethical is also considered. The smoking flax is extinguished when one fails to see the good in the poor or the depised:

> "et linum fumigans non exstinguet." Gentilem videlicet populum non per amarissimum erroris fumum emittat, at nunc in Ecclesia linum fumigantem exstinguet, quia in aliquo paupere et despecto aliquid boni conspicit esse quod sibi prodesse potuisset: sed hoc ideo sprevit, quia eum aut peccatorem putat, aut pauperem cernit.
>
> Comm. in Mt. PL 92.61-62

Gregory equates the linen with the priestly garments: Quid vero per linum nisi ejus sacerdotium exprimitur quod lineis nimrium vestibus utebatur, Moralia 33.3.7 PL 76.673. All of these interpretations are amalgamated in the Glossa Ordinaria, which though later than Bede, is of interest, for the gloss shows the verse was associated with the ethical and social responsibilities, more than

an historical or allegorical interpretation:

> Linum fumigans Sacerdotium jam pene exstinctum, de lino autem fit sacerdotale vestimentum.
>
> PL 113.1284

> Arundinem Judaeos, omni vento cedentes, qui ab invicem discrepando dissipati sunt, non mox damnabit, sed supportabit. Arundinem quassatam Qui peccanti non porrigit manum, nec portat onus fratris, quassatum calamum confringit. Et qui fidei modicam scintillam contemnit in parvulis, linum fumigans exstinguit: quod Christus non fecit, qui potius venit quaerere quod perierat; patientiam namque servavit, donec judicium quod in eo agebatur, ad victoriam perveniret, et expulso mundi principe pedibus. Linum fumigans Gentes, quas naturalis legis ardore fiere exstincto fumus erroris amarissimus, et odoris noxius involvit: quas non exstinxit, sed de parva ascintilla in magnum odorem ignis Dei suscitavit. Donec Tamdiu praedicatio ejus nullis insidiis superata mundo lucet, donec ponat in terra judicium, et impleatur: Fiat voluntas tua, sicut in coelo et in terra.
>
> PL 114.125

This verse attesting to the patience of Christ is appropriate to the exhortation to the self to throw himself upon the mercies of Christ. The rest of the verse, with its reference to the Judgment, may be implied and also would be suitable to the context of the poem. Yet the esoteric quality of the verse, attested to, first, by the paucity of the commentary, and secondly, by the emending of calamos to animos in the textual history of the Latin poem, suggests an appropriateness beyond the dramatic situation. The consistent ethical and social interpretation, particularly by Bede, sive in doctrina, sive in exemplis, sive in quocumque, and Gregory's equation of the flax with

priestly garments, suggests that the line may epitomize the priestly or even the episcopal role. The priest and especially the bishop have the function and responsibility to comfort the sinner. The bishop would be Acca. The Latin poem, Whitbread suggests, may have been occasioned by Acca's elevation to the episcopacy in 709. His name appears in the epilogue that accompanies the best manuscripts of the Latin poem. There Acca is addressed as Pater, but the title can suggest respect and authority and not recessarily rank. The verse then is appropriate both to the poetic situation and to the occasion of the poem.

53a Hu ne gesceop þe se scaþa: the spelling may have been influenced by the earlier waldend. Later in line 57a, and two lines below in the manuscript, the spelling is sceaþa.

53b scearplice bysene: the adjective occurs in the poetry only here, nor is the exempla of the Latin in any way characterized. Sharpness as physical sensation is later associated with the soul living in lust, and the contrast may be here suggested.

54b cwylmed on rode: this characterization of the Good Thief in formulaic diction differs from the Latin pendens. . . in cruce latro. The Good Thief is more

than a sharp example of the efficacy of true contrition and prayer. Augustine in his typical reading of Scripture sees the Calvary scene as prefiguring the Judgment:

> Tamen et ipsa crux, si attendas, tribunal fuit: in medio enim judice constituto, unus latro qui crèdidit liberatus, alter qui insultavit damnatus est. Jam significabat quod facturus est de vivis et mortuis; alios positurus ad dexteram, alios ad sinistram: similis illi latro futuris ad sinistram, similis alter futuris ad dexteram. Judicabatur, et judicium minabatur.
>
> Tract 31, Tractatus in Joannis PL 35.1642

See also his Sermon 335, PL 39.1471. The depiction of the Judgmēnt in this poem is remarkable for having no specific mention of the cross. Perhaps this mention of the cross was considered enough.

55a hu micel forstent is the only citation for the verb in the poetry.

55b and hu mǽre is: The entire line is an expansion of the Latin valeat and presents an interesting kind of expansion. The doublet adjective, micel and mǽre are not simply paired in a half line, but are compounded, each with its own verb, in a full line. The repetition of hu and the duplicate B lines complete this artistic expansion.

56b synna and gylta: This doublet, rendering the Latin peccati contrasts with the artistry of l. 55.

57a se sceaþa wæs on rode: The Latin usque crucem must

have been difficult to render literally.

57b scyldig and manful: This expansion is not found in the Latin. The second adjective manful echoes the earlier characterization of the self in 16a.

58a mid undædum: The noun is found only here in the poetry. The Latin characterizes the thief as sceleratis impius actis, and the singular choice of undædum is echoed in the later dædbot of 85a.

58b eall gesymed: The burden or load of sin is stated explicitly here. The image, however, was suggested in the earlier a glidene gyltas mod of 47a. Just as the suggestions of the opening scene are realized later, here too the image is made explicit. The language used to make the image explicit would seem to have a scriptural echo, as the following citation from Bosworth-Toller shows: Ealle de gesymede synt omnes qui onerati estis, Mt. Bos. 11, 28, and the poet draws upon that connotation.

59b deaþe gehende: cf. the later deman gehende of 171b. In this way, the plight of the Good Thief ironically parallels that of the sinners before the Judge, the contrast being Augustinian.

60a his bena bebead: the Latin characterizes the prayer

of the Good Thief as verba precantia, which is not rendered in the Old English.

60b breostgehigdum: This detail is not found in the Latin, and in view of the formulaic nature of the expression, may have been added simply to complete the line.

61b ac geleaffullum: The line translates the Latin solo. . . fidei sermone. The "a" of ac is written with the same elongation found in 47a.

62a his hæle begeat: Hæle translates the Latin salutem quite well, but in addition, continues the medicus metaphor.

62b and help recene: This expansion is not found in the Latin, and is another instance of completing a line with a doubled noun. In this instance the manifold meanings of hæle are somewhat undercut with the presence of the second noun object. The syntax, however, compensates for this effect by separating the two nouns.

63a and in gefor: The "i" of in is written well above the line, perhaps signaling the word is a lift.

63b þa ænlican geatu: Cf. the earlier on ænlicum wonge, 6b. The Latin characterizes the gates simply as apertas; and this rendering of ænlicum is, at first, quite surprising. The demands of alliteration would have been satisfied with openum. The adjective appearing here

recalls the earlier characterization of the plain or wonge. The echo is certainly suggestive that the opening scene is another Paradise or a monastery.

64a neorxnawonges: The traditional Old English word for the Latin paradisi. The scribe treated it as two words, leaving a space after neorxna.

64b mid nerigende: Christ is not characterized in the Latin, and the nerigende has something of the physician suggested, as well as savior.

65b la earme gebanc: My arrangement of this line differs from Dobbie's and agrees with Löhe's. Dobbie prints the la in the on-verse, leaving the off-verse metrically defective. The manuscript here is interesting. The first page of the poem, p. 161 of the manuscript, ends here at l. 38, the last word being la. In the reproduction I examined, there seems to be a dash, greatly smudged, following la. Dobbie does not mention this textual matter, and the smudge may have occurred at any time, but a mark clearly resembly a dash does follow la. Also the sense and force of la would suggest it being in the off-verse.

66b þæt þu ðe læce ne cyþst: Following Lumby and Löhe, I emend the manuscript cystþ to cyþst. In the reproduction of the manuscript that I used for the preparation of my

text, læce appears as lece. There is sufficient space between the "l" and the "e" for the first element of "æ" but there is no trace of it in the reproduction. The word appears on the first line of p. 162 of the folio, and all the letters with vertical strokes are elongated and exaggerated. The "l" has an exaggerated horizontal stroke for a lower case letter. Comparing the word with the similar form in l. 81a, eight lines below in the manuscript, I notice there the "æ" has the typical characteristics of this scribe, the "e" being slightly angled and the letter being slightly higher than the following "c." The "e" of l. 66b has none of these characteristics. However, because I am using a photographic reproduction and because no other editor mentions it, I hesitate to print lece, but I do note it as a possible textual emendation. The full line is remarkable for having fourteen syllables. The main alliteration is the "l," but the secondary repetition of þu is effective. The use of (ge)cyþan with its suggestion of the vocal for the Latin pandere is consistent with the earlier use in 45b.

69b earum atihtum is the only instance of the participle appearing in the poetry.

70a heofonrices weard is a common epithet. Of the fourteen other instances of this epithet, only three, Dan 12a,

26a, and And 56a, occur in the on-verse. Its occurrence here may have been dictated by the syntax; otherwise, a quick reading would have the Almighty hearing Himself. The epithet is an expansion to complete the line.

71a ac se dæg cymeð: As Waller Deering, The Anglo-Saxon Poets on the Judgment Day (Halle, 1890), p. 8, notes, dæg is usually accompanied by an adjective, but he makes no mention of se dæg occurring here. The Latin ille dies suggests se here means "that."

71b ðonne demeð god: The Latin, Ille dies veniet, judex dum venerit orbis, presents a special problem of translation. Old English prosody allowed for crossed and transverse alliteration, and there are ten examples of crossed alliteration in the poem: ll. 88, 102, 134, 155, 158, 160, 166, 247, 279, and 286. One of these, l. 247, has almost identical words, gesælig-ofersælig, as lifts in both the on-verse and the off-verse. Apparently the poet had no way to vary cymeð sufficiently to render the Latin veniet-venerit and yet remain terse and effective. There is an example of effective repetition in l. 81, lifes læcedomes æt lifes frean, that would suggest that the poet need not have varied cymeð. His rendering is also interesting for being one of the few occasions that he did not follow his usual ratio of translation. L. 73b begins a new thought, where we should expect some expan-

sion or elaboration of the Latin.

Lines 72b-74. These lines, addressed to the sinful tongue, posit an individual and separate Judgment, in which each individual will have to render an account. In the later depiction of the Judgment, such a procedure is not followed; rather the procedure is simultaneous and mass revelation, with, however, no individual justification. This discrepancy is not apparent, because of the separation of the scenes, and is justified because of the dramatic effectiveness of addressing the tongue.

73a gyldan scad wordum: Scad appears in the poetry only here, the more common form being ge-. The poet often uses the ge- form, and its absence here is surprising. Perhaps he was suggesting the opening scene by playing upon the nearly identical scād and scad. Both the Latin and the Old English echo Mt. 12.36 here. See the citation gescead agyldan "to render an account," Mt. Bos. 12.36 in Bosworth-Toller.

74b riht agyldan is a common expression. Of the citations in Bosworth-Toller, p. 796, one is of especial interest: He sceal ealra his doma riht agyldan beforan dæm rihtwisan deman on domesdæge, R. Ben. 16.7. I have been unable to obtain a copy of Die Angelsachsische Prosabearbeitung

ed. A. Schröer (Kassel, 1885) to verify that this is a rendering of the twelfth step of the Ladder of Humility, but the sense of the citation would suggest it is.

82 Nu þu scealt greotan, tearas geotan: The line has rhyme instead of alliteration. The off-verse, tearas geotan, is formulaic, cf. the identical construction in Chr 1566a and Glc 1056b. The poet occasionally modifies a formula to fit his own alliterative pattern, or reverses a formula, as in 90b, but the formula, rather than geotan tearas, suggests he preferred rhyme to alliterating /g/ and /j/. Neither verb has the suggestion of the Latin purgas.

85a and dædbote do: Dædbot appears only here in the poetry, though it is a common word for penance.

87a and þe sylfum demst: Self-judgment is explicit in the Old English, but only implied in the Latin. The complexity and effect of the Latin ll. 44-45, is not rendered: Aeternus fuerit placidus te vindice judex/ Nec Deus aetherius bis crimina vindicat ulli. The Latin stresses only the self-punishment of sin, but judgment is implied by the juxtaposition of vindice judex. The duality of roles is further emphasized by the repetition of vindicat in the following line. This complexity is lost in the Old English which identifies the Judge as

godes sunu and renders vindice less severely as gif þu gnorn þrowast. Punishment or avenging is rendered later in l. 89a with a different verb, wrecan. Though in both versions one's self-judgment and punishment is encouraged by the promise that God will not punish any sin twice, the Old English seems less severe than the Latin. The Latin could have been rendered interlinearly using wrecend-wrecan. The Old English poet's failure to do so and his lessening the severity of the Latin in these lines of encouragement can only be deliberate.

93b for ærdædum: Ærdædum appears in the poetry only here and in l. 96b.

94a oððe hu egeslice: The manuscript hit is emended to hu, first suggested by Lumby, and egeslic to egeslice, first suggested by Löhe.

95a heahþrymme cyningc: Heahþrymme, Lumby suggests, should have the genitive -s, and he renders it "in great glory." Brandl, in Anglia IV, 130, argues the form is instrumental, and Dobbie concurs, but neither render the phrase. The compound appears only here and in Glc 1324b, heahþrym godes. Bosworth-Toller Suppl., p. 517, identifies the word as an adjective and translates "of exalted glory." Juxtaposed with cyningc and seeming to translate the Latin celsithronus, the compound may indeed be an adjective, but the usual adjective

forms of þrym are compounded with -ful and -lic. "High glory" in an instrumental sense, while not impossible, does make for a difficult rendering. A better solution, I suggest, would be to render the compound "high-host," referring to the angels who figure prominently in the Judgment scene. The instrumental form then would have a "comitative function"--see Randolph Quirk and C. L. Wrenn, An Old English Grammar, 2nd ed. (London, 1957), p. 67. Such a singular characterization of the heavenly host would be typical of the poet. The angels are mentioned three times in the Judgment section: twice hapax legomena appear, stiþmægen, 114a and eoredheapas, 113b. Also typical of the poet is the use of words with a wealth of referents, almost all of them fitting the poetic context. So too here: þrym can mean "host" or "glory." Nor should we expect everything in the Latin to appear in the Old English. L. 48 is an especially interesting one for how little or how much was translated: Vel quam celsithronus metuendus ab arce polorum. Metuendus appears in the doubled adverbs of l. 94. Ab arce polorum nowhere appears. Celsithronus, itself a poetic compound, the poet may have decided to match with one of his own. Cyningc represents an unvoicing of the velar stop. The form -ngc is not as common as -nc. The scribe uses both forms in the poems that follow Judgment

Day II in the manuscript: in A Summons to Prayer, -ngc in 2a, -nc in 19a; in The Lord's Prayer II, -nc in 2a, -ngc in 82b; in The Gloria I, -nc in 42a and 52b.

96b be ærdædum: Untypically, the -um is here written out. The repetition of this word, with the emphasis on ær-, is quite effective for focusing on the now. The later Judgment, however, deals with more than deeds, everything, including thoughts, being revealed. The Old English focuses on the fearsomeness of the Judgment. The Latin focuses on the justice of the event: adveniet judex mercedem reddere cunctis.

101a and beorga hliðu: The manuscript hlida, retained by Lumby as meaning the "lids of graves," has been emended to hliðu, first suggested by Löhe and so printed by Dobbie. The Latin text, terra tremet montesque ruent collesque liquescent, is cited as sufficient reason for the emendation. Though there is no mention in the Judgment section about the manner of the general resurrection, the Latin here is otherwise closely translated, and so I agree with the emendation. Usually the form appears as a compound, and only in the poetry. The three instances, Exo 449a, Ele 787a and 1009a, all scan as C lines, but the second drop in this case prevents calling the line formulaic. Yet the appearance of the compound,

slightly modified, does attest to the poet's awareness of the formulaic poetic diction.

105b swiðe geþuxsað: The verb is recorded only here and in the homily, which has the participle form geþuhsod.

107a þonne stedelease: The adjective appears in the poetry only here. The only other citation in Bosworth-Toller is Ælfric's Metrical Lives of the Saints.

109b nanre mihte wiht: In the textual note to this line, Dobbie writes of nanre, "The scribe began with m, then altered m to na and added nre." The word is very faint in the reproduction I used, but the right vertical stroke of "a" is untypically heavy. The rhyme of mihte wiht is unusual, but may be explained by wiht formulas in Gen 242b, 785b, and 813b, and the use of miht for the first lift of the off-verse.

110b genipu mæge alecgan: The problem with flecgan and a concise summary of criticism is provided by Dobbie: "This verb is not elsewhere found in Anglo-Saxon, and is unexplained unless we can take it as causative and related in some way to fleogan. Lumby, Wülker consider it an error for flegan, flygan, 'to put to flight'; Wülker suggests emending to fleogan or flegan, but fleogan is not authenticated as a transitive verb. Löhe, following

Trautmann, emends to fleman. The Latin text (l. 55) has merely pallida nocturnam nec praestat luna lucernam, and the reading of the homily (Napier, 137, 11-12), and se mona næfd nane lihtincge, offers no help." I agree with Dobbie's conclusion that we must posit a form of low frequency. The poem does offer other examples of words nowhere else recorded. The simplest emendation would be fleogan, positing a transitive meaning. My own emendation is alecgan, to be rendered "allay." Such a meaning is found in Bosworth-Toller, "to diminish, take away," with the citation from Ælfric Godes lof alecgan, "to diminish God's glory." This meaning has but one citation, and no citation in the entry here or in the Supplement shows the verb used with the elements. For this reason, the form could have easily been corrected by the scribe to flecgan.

112a deaðbeacnigende tacn: The manuscript has only deaðbeacnigende. Because of the Latin signa minantia mortem and the homily reading deaðbeacnigende tacn, the emendation, first suggested by Wülker and followed by Löhe and Dobbie, is used here. Dobbie notes that such a reading would result in a loss of alliteration, but the half-lift on beac may have supplied an approximate alliteration with bregað.

113b eoredheapas: This is the only citation in Bosworth-Toller.

114a stiþmægen astyred: This is the only citation in Bosworth-Toller for stiþmægen.

118b helme beweordod: This is the only citation of the verb in Bosworth-Toller.

125a stent hergea mæst: The homily reading has here been substituted for the manuscript stent he with a gap and an erasure after he, first proposed by Löhe and accepted by Dobbie.

125b heortleas and earh: This is the only citation for the first adjective in Bosworth-Toller.

126a amasod and amarod: The only other citation for amasian in Bosworth-Toller is Cant. Ab. 12, "a gloss of Habakkuk, 3, 2-19, contained in the same MS. as Ps. Lamb. (q.v.) on folios 189-191." Interestingly it is in this same version of the Psalms that the only other instance of todeman is found. Amarian has no other citation.

127a þænne samod becumad: The manuscript ænne has been emended to þænne as suggested by Löhe, citing the homily þonne, and followed by Dobbie.

Lines 135-144: We will here briefly summarize the thinking of the four Latin Doctors on the mode of the Last Judgment. Augustine in De civitate Dei Lib. XX, Cap. xiv, posits a mass and simultaneous Judgment. Interpreting the refer-

ences in Apoc. 20.12 to the aperti libri and the later liber apertus, Augustine writes that the first mentioned are the Old and New Testaments and the second is the record of every man's life. The contrast, then, would be between what man was ordered to do and what he had done. Since there is but one book for the latter, Augustine concludes that all men will be judged simultaneously. As to the manner, he speculates that miraculously everyone will recall his own works, and this knowledge will either accuse or excuse conscience. Later in Cap. xxvi Augustine reiterates that the Judgment will require no other accuser than the individual conscience. Whether all will be revealed to all, is not specified in his discussion, yet in the conclusion to this, his most coherent and detailed discussion of the Last Judgment, Augustine insists that the exact sequence and manner can only be known when it is experienced. Bede in his Explanatio apocalypsis, Lib. III, Cap. xx (PL 93.193) offers virtually the same interpretation as Augustine does.

None of the other three Latin Doctors has a work that is the equivalent of De civitate Dei in detail and and coherence. Instead, their speculation appears in sermons, letters, and commentaries, and often changes. For that reason I rely upon the summaries presented by

critics who have studied each Doctor. Jerome's opinions are the most elusive and least amenable to summary simply because he wrote commentaries on various eschatological books of Scripture, and nowhere does he synthesize his opinions. The conscience will be exposed, and typically, this is likened to opening a book, but once he speaks of opening two books, a good and a bad. Twice Jerome stresses that, as in our poem, all will be revealed to all--In Dan. VII, 10 (PL 25.532) and In Is. XIII, 8 (PL 24.210). On the manner of the Judgment, Jerome once speaks of the Judge disputing with the wicked--In Joelem III, 12 (PL 25.980), but otherwise he does not speculate. I have here paraphrased the summary presented by John P. O'Connell in The Eschatology of St. Jerome (Mundelein, 1948), pp. 31-38.

Ambrose alone posits a true Judgment, a weighing and sentencing by a Judge. Often he speaks of the individual conscience being the accuser, but he also posits the devil as the accuser, the demons as witnesses, and the angels as the agents of punishment (perhaps suggesting the heahþrymme of l. 95a). The evidence will be the individual conscience upon which will be recorded all the past; thoughts, words, and deeds. Whether this Judgment is to individual or simultaneous, Ambrose does not speculate, but the Judge will decide one's ultimate fate.

For this brief sketch I have used F. Homes Dudden, St. Ambrose: His Life and Times (Oxford, 1935), II, 669-671.

Gregory's speculation on the manner of the Judgment, though brief, is distinctive. The books that will be opened are the revelation of the lives of the saints and the law of God. Men are to be judged according to how they imitated the one and obeyed the other. In Gregory there is no accuser, but each sinner is convicted by the action of his own conscience as every sin is recalled. Thus, the Judgment would be simultaneous, but whether the action of the conscience would be revealed to others is not made clear. Gregory's thinking is summarized by F. Homes Dudden, Gregory the Great (London, 1905), II, 432-433.

From this brief survey it is apparent that there were slight variations in the thinking of the Latin Doctors on the precise nature of the Judgment. Bede certainly was acquainted with these and incorporated them into his own theological work. For a brief summary with an indication of how his own thinking changed in his exegetical writings, see Carroll, pp. 175-176. As a poet however, he would seem to be following Augustine and Gregory. Oddly, as mentioned before, there is no mention of the Books, however they were interpreted, in the poem.

136a digle gebancas: Earlier, l. 20b and l. 40b, the adjective appeared as dihle. For the interchange of g and h medially, see A. Campbell, Old English Grammar (Oxford, 1959), sec. 447, and Karl Brunner, Altenglische Grammatik, 3rd ed. (Tübingen, 1965), sec. 214, n. 3.

146b ættrenum lige: The Latin characterizes the flames as ultricibus. Like the earlier wandian, 34a, the characterization of the flames in the Old English recalls a similar usage from The Battle of Maldon, Ætterne ord, 47a and 146a.

149b eahgemearcas: This is the only citation for the compound in Bosworth-Toller. The singular compound might be compared to geargemearces, Glc. 1241a. The emphasis on seeing is in keeping with the metaphor of blindness and final realization. The Latin also refers to the apparent emptiness of the sky, but nothing that would emphasize sight: Ignis ubique suis ruptis regnabit habenis/ Et quo nunc aer gremium diffundit inane (ll. 73-74). Much is not translated here, noticeably the ruptis habenis and the gremium. This reference to the fire filling the sky was explained in great detail by Bede in Cap. LXX, De temporum ratione (PL 90.575-578). There he distinguishes three areas in the heavens: firmamentum coeli, coelum aethereum, and coelum aereum. It is this last, character-

ized as terrae proximum, that will be destroyed. The same point is made in Lib. VI, In Lucae Evangelium Expositio (PL 92.590): Coelum quod transibit non aethereum, sive siderum, sed aerum, a quo et aves coeli et nubilia coeli cognominantur, intelligere debemus. This distinction is carried over to the Latin poem, aer, ll. 72 and 74. The Old English poet used lyft, l. 146a and under roderes ryne, l. 150a.

152b blawed and braslad: There is no alliteration in this line, and the double alliteration in the off-verse suggests a possible reversal of the on- and off-verse in the transmission of the MS., with perhaps fyren originally being bryne. This is only speculation. Whitbread in "The Old English Poem Judgment Day II and its Latin Source," PQ XLV (1966), 635-656, has studied this and other instances of non-alliteration in ll. 42, 190, 251, and 255, and finds there an "unusual metrical feature." These lines, "are in fact alliteratively linked, by a single key-word. . . to one of their neighbor lines, a device also seen in Bede, e.g. Vs. 1-2 (Flamine), 2-3 (undique), 3-4 (solus) etc."--pp. 645-646. The key word here would be gefylled of l. 151b. All of L. Whitbread's articles on the Latin original and Judgment Day II have proven invaluable to my study, and this one,

hereafter cited as "Latin Source," has been especially so because of the careful and detailed study of the manuscripts of the Latin poem.

153b *reesct and efeste*: Both verbs appear in the poetry only here. For the first Bosworth-Toller cites some glosses in addition to this line. For the second there are more numerous citations.

155a *ne se wrecenda bryne*: This characterization of the fire is from the Latin *vindex ardor*, l. 77. The avenging fire has one explicit function: to punish the wicked. There is however, a further suggestion that the fire may also be a test, that the fire will pour over all men, l. 147a, but burn only the evil, l. 167b. Perhaps in this way the saved will be distinguished from the damned. Ordinarily, the saved are thought of as being snatched up into the heavens with Christ the Judge, based on Thess. 4.17, but that the final conflagration might be purgative as well was allowed by Augustine, *De civitate Dei* XX, xxv, and echoed by Bede in *De tempore ratione*, Cap. LXX (*PL* 93.576). His remark there about such speculations is worth quoting: *Verum in his omnibus utilius est cuique castum se districi iudicis praebere conspectibus, quam de iudicii illius modo locove discutere*.

157b *her afeormad*: This verb, meaning "to cleanse," is one of the examples of late West-Saxon vocabulary pointed out by Robert J. Menner, "The Vocabulary of the Old English Poems on the Judgment Day," *PMLA* 62 (1947), 583-597. Others are *cweartan*, l. 217a, and *ofergeotan*, l. 36b, but Menner cautions using verbal compounds for verbs with other prefixes found in Anglian. *Gemang*, l. 282a and l. 303b, as a preposition occurs nowhere else in the poetry and is characteristic of West Saxon prose. Characteristic West-Saxon vocabulary found in both early and late texts and unrecorded for Anglian, would include *gehende*, *murcnian*, and *ymbtrymman*. From his study of the two poems, Menner concludes, "*Judgment Day II* is as clearly Saxon in origin as *Judgment Day I* is Anglian."

Her can easily be misread as denying purgatory, especially as the Latin is simply *Sordibus ablutus veniat nisi ab omnibus illuc*, l. 78, with no mention of where or when this cleansing is to be effected. Rather than denying purgatory, the Old English poet is emphasizing that forgiveness must be obtained in this life, and in so doing is doctrinally correct. Where satisfaction for the remitted sin is to be effected is not specified, but in the following line *and þonne þider cume þearle aclænsad*, purgatory, if needed, might be reasonably inferred, from *þonne*. Also the intensifying adverb *þearle*

suggests a two-fold step: afeormian being remission and aclænsian being satisfaction. For Bede's views on purgatory which are close to Gregory's, see Carroll, pp. 178-179.

158b þearle aclænsad: Aclæsian appears in the poetry only here, though clænsian and geclænsian do appear.

163a earm and eadig: Though "the wretched and blessed" would be an accurate translation, the Latin miser et dives, l. 81, suggests "the poor and rich" is probably intended.

163b ealle beod afæred: Whitbread, "Latin Source," pp. 647-656, groups the surviving MSS. of the Latin poem into five families, and shows that group IV, of five MSS., "most clearly supports the OE translator at several places where he seems to have followed a reading significantly at variance with the main choice." Of the five MSS. in that group, the one closest in readings and paragraphing to the Old English is B. M. Cott. Domitian A.i, the Beta MS. in the Corpus Christianorum edition of the Latin poem, designated in this article as IV-1. However, because of singular difficulties at ll. 242-246, to be discussed below, Whitbread concludes that this was not the actual MS. used and that "we seem

obliged to conclude that the actual copy used by the translator is now lost." The variants are listed on p. 648 of this article. Here, for example, afæred "suits the variant 80 timidus (so 1-5) in place of tumidus."

164a þær hæfd ane lage: This is the only occurrence of lagu f. "law" in the poetry, and translates the Latin simili ditione, but the pun with lagu m. "water, flood, sea, ocean" is to be noted.

168a horxlice wyrmas: In no other speculation on the final conflagration have I found any additional torments described. The same detail is found in the Latin, l. 83, and Chr. 1250 ond wyrma slite where the universal conflagration precedes the Judgment. Cook, p. 202, notes only that the phrase is found here and in the homily, but offers no source or other parallel. We may allow a certain poetic license here in the matter of detail, but inasmuch as the worms are mentioned again in l. 211b of the Old English and l. 105 in the Latin, this detail may suggest that the punishment of the wicked has already begun, that they are already in Hell.

169a synscyldigra: This is the only citation in the poetry, but cf. scyldigra scolu, Chr. 1607a and synnum scyldig, Bwf. 3071b.

170b be arna gewyrhtum: Dobbie prints be agnum gewyrhtum first suggested by Grein and followed by subsequent editors, for the MS. bearnū. Lumby prints be arnum, with the note, p. 60, "the adjective *aren does not occur elsewhere, it is regularly formed from ar, as fyren from fyr." Of the two emendations, I think Lumby's is the better, for he remains closer to the MS. reading. The Latin here is simply meritis. My own emendation for a descriptive genitive, "deeds of honor" also retains the MS. arn. In my copy I cannot verify the macron over the final u which Dobbie reports, but the scribe may have simply anticipated the ū of the following gewyrhtū.

172b oga ætsomne: The noun appears only here in the poetry.

174b stane gelicast: This characterization of the wicked is not found in the Latin. The same phrase occurs in Phx. 302b, there describing the wondrous bird.

178a Wa þe nu, þu þeowast: Wülker's emendation of a second þe before the verb is based on the homily reading, wa ðe nu ðu þe þeowast and is followed by Dobbie. This second þe is not grammatically necessary. Löhe omits þe as is done here. Lumby prints the MS. reading and omits the off-verse.

178b þissere worulde is not in the MS. and is supplied by the homily reading.

179b on galnysse: This is the only citation for the noun in the poetry.

180b sticelum þæs gælsan: This is the only citation for both nouns in the poetry. The variant forms for "lust" proved metrically useful. The Latin Luxuriae stimulis te tuae agitabis acutis in phrasing and idea is from Gregory, Moralia 30.10.38 (PL 76.545): Ecce alius dum mundi hujus successibus profecit, lenocenante cordis laetitia, tentari se luxuriae stimulis sentit.

Lines 185 ff.: The depiction of Hell in the Latin has been thoroughly studied by Whitbread, "A Study," 210-212, with a full listing of parallels both in Latin and Old English poetry. Since the Old English is a close rendering of the Latin, Whitbread's conclusions are applicable here also. The depiction "contains some share of the literary conventions of detail with which they were garnished in Medieval works." Three specific examples are cited to show the poem's connection with a "widespread eschatological tradition": (1) a description of

the pains of Hell and the joys of Heaven by means of a twofold list of "noxious things and qualities, of both man and nature, which are, respectively, ever present and absent." (2) "the allusion to alternating hell-torment of excessive heat and cold." (3) the mention of the torments of Hell as "indescribable, beyond human words," a convention, it is noted, ultimately traceable to Enoch 14.15. With these conclusions, I would agree. What should be stressed, however, is not the conventionality, but the sparseness of these details. Some of the conventional details missing, for example, would include the size and dimensions of Hell, a gradation of torments with a listing of specific torments for specific sinners, some elaboration of the torturers and their means of torture, and finally, some mention of Satan. Here too as elsewhere in the poem, the depiction is more interesting for what is not included than for its conventionality. Finally no study has given credit or attention to what is singular and remarkable: the final characterization and depiction of sin that concludes the scene.

189a <u>fule stowa</u>: The MS. reading has been retained for its sense, "foul places," and for its syntax. Brandl's emendation of <u>fulle stowa</u> accepted by Löhe and Dobbie is based on the Latin <u>ignibus</u>. . . <u>loca plena</u>, l. 94.

192a se þrosma lig: Dobbie identifies þrosma as genitive plural, but adds a question mark. The homily reads þrosmiga, adopted by Löhe. A descriptive genitive is acceptable, and the use here suggested my emendation for l. 170b. This detail of the "smoky flame" which renders the Latin ignibus. . . nigris parallels in sweartne leg, Chr. III, 1532a. Cook, p. 217, lists the parallels found in Bede, E.H. 5.12, and Ælfric, Hom. I.532 and Hom. II. 350 and this poem. Gregory's interpretation, Moralia 9.65 (PL 75.912) is quoted.

192b and se þrece gicela: Wülker explains þrece as probably from þræce, genitive singular of þracu. We would then have another descriptive genitive. This is the only occurrence of gicela in the poetry; the form gicel usually appears. Gicel appears only as a compound in the poetry, with cyle-, hilde-, and hrim-. Likewise þracu is often compounded, see Sprachschatz, p. 721. Though the scribe wrote two separate words, a compound may have been intended. Cook's note to Chr. III 1546b lists the many parallel passages. His remark that all references to hot and cold "derive from Job 24.19" has been challenged by Whitbread. Enoch 14.11 is cited, and the detail, it is noted, is found in a number of apocryphal, rabbinical works. However it is further remarked, "Though it seems to me doubtful that all Medieval allusions

derived from this Scriptural source, the explanation is quite adequate for Bede's own Versus."--"A Study," p. 210.

195b eal he is bealuwes full: This off-verse is rejected by Löhe as having no counterpart in the homily. In its place is hwilum eac þa teþ; for miclum cyle is l. 196a. Yet the line does appear in the MS., and failing other metrical or alliterative objections, I have included it.

198b wendaþ þær inne: Because of the Latin volvuntur, no editor has emended the verb to make gewrixl, l. 197a, the subject, though Dobbie suggests that it is. Only Wülker makes gewrixl the object, but offers no translation. Löhe reads þæt is atul gewrixl! Lumby, p. 65, explains l. 197a as a "case pendent. . . taken up by þærinne." Löhe, p. 80, notes that Grein too believes it to be an "abhängiger acc." Gewrixl makes the best sense as subject and no emendation is necessary, for in this late text unaccented o, u, a and e often interchange as in ll. 152b, 250b.

199a betwyx forsworcenum: This is the only citation for the adjective in the poetry.

200a and weallendes pices: The noun is found only here in the poetry.

201a þær nan stefn styred: Löhe's emendation of the MS. stef ne has been followed here.

201b buton stearcheard: This is the only citation for the adjective. Sprachschatz, p. 892, following Holthausen and Löhe, records stearc(ond) heard, but an A2b scansion allows for the compound.

204a buton þara cwelra: The noun appears in the poetry only here.

208a buton unstences: Lumby and Wülker have so emended the MS. un stence, and Dobbie followed the emendation.

209a þær beoð þa wanigendan: This is the only citation in the poetry for the participle.

210a ligspiwelum bryne: The adjective appears only here in the poetry. The only other citation in Bosworth-Toller, besides the homily, is a gloss for Prudentius' de flegetonte. The compound renders the Latin flammivomo, l. 104; interestingly, however, the earlier ignivomus, l. 82, was not translated.

211b wyrmas slitað: The mention of worms or serpents is traditional, ultimately from Is. 66.24.

212a and heora ban gnagað: The verb appears only here in the poetry.

212b byrnigum tuxlum: The noun appears only here in the poetry.

215a for hwi fyrngende flæsc: Wulker's and Löhe's emendation of the MS. fyrgende has been followed here.

217a þæt hit on cweartern: The noun appears only here in the poetry.

221a ne sib ne hopa: The second noun appears only here in the poetry.

222: So arranged, the MS. ne þara wera worn is an acceptable on-verse, with the MS. wihte the first word of the off-verse; the verb is missing, perhaps gefrefed as Löhe has suggested. Holthausen's emendation, wependra, printed by Löhe and Dobbie, is based on the Latin flentibus.

226a ac þær bid angryslic: Löhe's emendation of the MS. þær bid, printed by Dobbie, has been followed here.

229a adl and yrre: The emendation of the MS. eald to adl, based on the homily, suggested by Wülker and Löhe, has been followed here.

229b and æmelnes: This and l. 261b are the only citations for the noun in the poetry.

230a and þær synnge eac: Holthausen's emendation of the MS. synne, based on the homily and the Latin errantesque

animae, has been followed here.

232a þonne deriende: This is the only citation for the participle in the poetry.

232b gedwinaþ heonone: The verb appears only here and in l. 234b in the poetry.

Lines 234-241: The personification of the vices and the depiction of their final departure into the shades of Hell is not found in the Latin. Kennedy, p. 254, and Greenfield, p. 135, both single out the scene as unusual and interesting, and both note the resemblance to the later morality plays. I have found no other such scene in any of the literature depicting Hell. The ultimate inspiration and model may have been Prudentius' Psychomachia, especially the route of the vices that follow Luxuria, ll. 432-453, wherein are mentioned Iocus, Petulantia, Amor, Pompa, Venustatis, Discordia, and Voluptatis. See also Curtius, p. 205, for the general influence of allegory by which "personified beings of a supersensual nature could become the principal personages of poetic creation."

237a and fæsthafolness: This is the only citation for the noun in the poetry. "Stinginess" is not specified in the Latin, but might be inferred from Dira cupido, l. 119.

239b on sceade þonne: The MS. þone has been emended to þonne, following Höser, Die syntaktischen Erscheinungen in Be Domes Dæge, pp. 18-19, Löhe, and Dobbie.

240b uncræftiga slæp: This is the only citation for the adjective in Bosworth-Toller, rendering it as "powerless." Clark Hall lists "helpless." The Latin is somnus iners, l. 120, the adjective rendered in l. 241, sleac mid sluman.

241b slincan on hinder: The is the only occurrence of the verb in the poetry, and the only citation in Bosworth-Toller with the meaning "slink away."

Lines 242-246: Whitbread's reasons ("Latin Study," pp. 650-651) for rejecting the Beta MS. as the one actually used by the Old English poet are based on the rendering of the Latin at this point.

"The Latin,

121 Illicita quicquid modo delectatio carnis
122 Et caeca scelerum mergit uertigine mentem
123 Tunc caecis merget flammis sine fine misellos,

becomes

242 þonne blindum beseah biterum ligum
243 earme on ende þæt unalyfed is nu,
244 leofest on life lað bið þænne
245 and þæt werige mod wendað þa gyltas
246 swiðe mid sorgum and mid sargunge.

The words italicised here are those not in the Latin but typical minor additions and expansions of the translator. Sense seems to be possible with the OE

only if we assume it depends on a rearrangement of the hexameter to

> 123 Tunc caecis merget flammis sine fine misellos,
> 121 Illicita quicquid modo delectatio carnis
> 122 et caeca scelerum mergit uertigine mentem.

> On this basis þæt unalyfed is nu 'what is now unlawful' becomes the subject of beseah in a sense 'would drench,' with blindum. . . biterum ligum earme on ende containing the object, 'these wretched ones endlessly in blind bitter flames.' Then follows and þæt mod wendad þa gyltas, 'and sins send their mind in a whirl,' scelerum having been taken in its primary, impersonal sense, 'sins,' rather than for the sceleratorum or peccatorum, 'sinners' as Bede intended (as in Vs. 76, 83). Only the repetitive caeca 122 is now unaccounted for, unless indeed werige 245 and the whole of 246 were intended to cover this term. The preterit beseah appears to translate a future, merget 123, but mergit is read here in numerous MSS., including 1-4 of group IV. In sum JD 242-44 do more or less equate with Vs. 123, 121, and 245 does with 122. Since no recorded MS. of the Vs. has the three hexameters in this order, we seem obliged to conclude that the actual copy used by the translator is now lost."

This explanation is a very plausible one, and certainly it does account for the ordering of the Old English lines, why the poet placed first what apparently comes last in the Latin. Such a procedure is highly untypical of the poet. Also the reading mergit for merget accounts for his apparent failure to render the complex metaphor of the Latin, choosing instead the idea of l. 244. We have noted his hesitancy or inability to render veniet. . . venerit, l. 36, literally, and perhaps we have another instance here. In any event, a singular and striking definition of sin is not translated. Sin here defined as any illicit delight

of the flesh whirling the mind into blindness is from Gregory, who often characterizes the sinner as blind. For example, see Hom. 39, Hom. in Evang. Lib II (PL 76.1293) wherein the soul will be afflicted in Hell when all the joys of this life are changed to bitterness. It will begin to rage for its failure to see. Characterizing the sinner, Gregory asks what else is it doing but hurrying with closed eyes towards the everlasting fire. The blindness of sin is an interior blackness that parallels the outer blackness into which the sinners are condemned at the Last Judgment in Moralia 25.9 (PL 76.340). In Hom. 38, Hom. in Evang. Lib. II (PL 76.1290) Gregory adds the soul being turned or whirled by concupisence to the image of blindness and blackness:

> Interiores quippe tenebras dicimus caecitatem cordis, exteriores vero tenebras aeternam noctem damnationis. Tunc ergo damnatus quisque non in interiores sed in exteriores tenebras mittitur, quia illic invitus projecitur in noctem damnationes, qui hic sponte cedidit in caecitatem cordis. Ubi fletus quoque et stridor dentium esse perhibetur, ut illic dentes strideant, qui hic de edacitate gaudebant; illic oculi defleant qui hic per illicitas concupiscentias versabantur.

In Moralia 30.10.38 (PL 76.546) the whirling image is found with that of drowning: Considerandum quippe est ne acceptam munus vertamus in vitium, ne per favorem vitae nos absorbeat vorago nequitiae. See also XL Hom. in Evang. Lib II (PL 76.949), Hom. 2, wherein Gregory extolls compunction and contemplation as the means of lifting us

from the weight of temptation. He urges all to pray ne tentatio demerget.

It is from this complex of ideas that Bede fashioned this definition and depiction of sin, in language that reflects its ultimate source. Of some interest for its verbal echoes to the Latin is the malediction of Pudicitia upon the slain Libido in Psychomachia, ll. 89-95:

> tu princeps ad mortis iter, tu iuanua leti
> corpora conmaculans animas in Tartara mergis.
> abde caput tristi, iam frigida pestis, abysso;
> occide, prostibulum; manes pete, claudere Averno,
> inque tenebrosum noctis detrudere fundum,
> te volvant subter vada flammea, te vada nigra
> sulpureusque rotet per stagna sonnantia vertex,

with its mention of rivers, rolling, and plunging. In addition to being characterized as mortis iter, Libido is also vexatrix hominum, l. 58, and furiarum maxima, l. 96, showing that Lust was a serious vice here too. In Prudentius' poem, Libido is the second vice to be conquered, the first being Fidem Veterum Cultura Deorum. Like Gregory's blindness and like the Latin poem, Libido attacks Pudicitia with a torch of pinewood that burns with the black smoke of pitch and sulphur, ll. 42-44.

243b þæt unalyfed is nu: This is the only occurrence of the adjective in the poetry. The citations in Bosworth-Toller suggest that it renders the Latin illicita exactly. See also the entry for unalifedness, especially the cita-

tion from the Benedictine Rule: Hi ðis lif forseoð and ealles ðysses lifes unalyfednessa.

246b and mid sargunge: This is the only occurrence of the noun in the poetry. The only other citation in Bosworth-Toller is from the Old English translation of Defensor's Liber Scintillarum: Beo þu forþloten to sargungum: esto pronus ad lamenta.

247b and ofersælig: This is the only citation for the adjective in Bosworth-Toller.

249b swylce cwyldas: This is the only occurrence of the noun in the poetry.

250a and witu mæg: Löhe's emendation of the MS. witū based on the homily reading is followed here.

250b wel forbugon: The infinitive so appears in the MS.

Lines 254-271: A similar depiction of heaven occurs in Chr. III, ll. 1649-1664. Cook, pp. 222-223, demonstrates how typically such lists appear in the sermon literature, quoting examples from Gregory, Pseudo-Augustine, Caesarius, and in the Old English, Wulfstan and the Blickling Homilies.

254 þær niht ne genimð næfre þeostrum: Löhe's emendation of the MS. þær niht ne genipð næfre þeostra based on the homily þær niht ne genimð næfre þurh þystru þæs

heofonlican leohtes sciman, has been followed here.

258b heanlic slæp: The adjective occurs in the poetry only here and Mal. 55b. In the Latin somnus, l. 130, is not characterized.

259a ne bið þær fefur ne adl: The first noun occurs only here in the poetry. The phrase may have been suggested by the compound fefuradl.

259b ne færlic cwyld: This is the only citation in the poetry for both the adjective and the noun. As in l. 258b, in the Latin mors is not characterized.

260a nanes liges gebrasl: This is the only occurrence of gebrasl in the poetry. In addition to this and the homily citation, Bosworth-Toller cites only a gloss from Prudentius for salis. There the form is gebrastles; for the loss of t between s and another consonant, see Campbell, sec. 477-(2) and Brunner, sec. 196, n. 2.

265b hearde mid snawe: All editors have so emended the MS. swa se.

267a ne yrmð ne agnes: The second noun occurs only here in the poetry. This is the only citation in Bosworth-Toller to show a loss of n, the other forms being angnes. In the combination ng, the loss of n is very rare, discussed neither by Brunner or Campbell, so I assume the loss

to be simply scribal. No editor has offered to emend the form.

267b ne ænigu gnornung: Wülker's and Löhe's emendation of the MS. ne nænigu gnornung, for reasons of alliteration, has been followed here.

271b and leoflic geþwærnes: This is the only occurrence in the poetry of this noun.

274a þær a andward: Löhe's emendation of the MS. þæra has been followed here.

275a and fehþ and geblyssaþ: Holthausen, Anglia Beibl. V, 197, emended the MS. geblysaþ, followed by Löhe and Dobbie.

278a and on heofonsetle: This is the only citation in Bosworth-Toller for the compound, rendering the Latin sede polorum, l. 141.

278b hean geregnaþ: Dobbie prints Löhe's emendation of the MS. gerinnaþ, but comments, "the past participal form girinad, 'ornatum,' appears in the Rushworth Gospels (Luke xxi.5), and a number of forms of gehrinan, 'ornare,' are cited by Bos.-Tol., Supplement, p. 394 (under geregnian); it may be that gerinaþ was the original form in our text."

Lines 282-289: The detailing of Heaven's citizens corres-

ponds to the Latin, ll. 143-145:

> Angelicas inter turmas sanctasque cohortes,
> Vatidicis junctos patriarchis atque prophetis,
> Inter apostolicas animis laetantibus arces,

and since all the other citizens are translated, ærendracan, l. 287a, evidently translates the Latin apostolicas, although the word may also mean "angel" or "messenger." The translation of l. 288 and betweoh rosena reade heapas requires a comment. Although heap can mean "mass" or "heap," the word in this poem--ll. 113b, 175a, 283b, and 290b,--has consistently meant "throng." The roses should be understood as a metaphor, perhaps, but not necessarily referring only to the martyrs. The Latin, l. 146, has only roseis. . . triumphis, "rose-colored victories (or processions)" but does not specify the nature of the rose-color further. The rose as well as the lily could suggest virginity: see, for example, Leander of Seville Regula (PL 72.877): ne incipiat tibi germinare spinas et tribulas vitiata terra, et quae pro insigni virginitatis lilia rosasque parturire debet, urticam et paleam producet: istam, quae urat, illam quae laceret. Whitbread, "A Study," p. 205, notes that much of the Latin ll. 143-147 echoes the opening lines of Fortunatus' Carmen VIII-4, "Ad virgines," where the virgo, with the martyrs, holds the proxima praemia. The subject of l. 289a þær symle scinað, is not clear. Lumby, Kennedy, and Gordon all translate "they," implying ærendracan; Dobbie

takes hy, l. 284a. Either is correct, but I suggest all of Heaven and all of its citizens may be understood. Löhe supplies the missing off-verse, translating the Latin splendentia castra, l. 146, but Dobbie notes the sense is complete without it.

Lines 290-295: This depiction of Mary leading the virginal band, corresponding to the Latin ll. 147-148, Whitbread notes ("A Study," p. 205) echoes again Fortunatus' Carmen VIII-3, ll. 25 ff. There Mary is said to shine and lead a flock of virgineo agni. The same image is found in Leander, Regula (PL 76.877-8) Excitet te flamma ignis ejus, et chorus ille virgineus prosequens Mariam. Ipsam ergo oculo mentis suscipe, ipsos comitare chorus, ipsis te animi desiderio junge, ibi festina, ibi propera. Although flowers figure prominently in the poems of Fortunatus dealing with Mary and the theme of virginity, nowhere are the heavenly virgins depicted wearing flowers as they are here, blostum behangen, l. 291a. The Latin is only virgineo . . . flore, l. 147. The expression is formulaic, cf. Phx. 21a and Men. 91a.

That this depiction is by no means untypical of the respect paid Mary during this era, see the unpublished dissertation (Toronto, 1962) by Harriet Jean Quickendon Seaton, "Marian Imagery in the Old English Writings." This passage of Judgment Day II is briefly alluded to only

once, p. 33, where it is compared to the entry for the assumption in the Prose Martyrology, where Mary is said to shine among the virgins like the sun. No source or parallel is given for this passage from Judgment Day II. See also her analysis, pp. 151-153, of Ælfric's Assumption homily wherein Mary is both rose and lily. This is the only citation for the compound mædenheap in Bosworth-Toller. For the loss of g after a vowel and before d in West-Saxon, see Campbell, sec. 243; and Brunner, sec. 214.3. Drut, l. 292b and frowe, l. 293a, appearing here has long been a puzzle. The most plausible explanation is offered by L. Whitbread, "Old English and Old High German: a Note on Judgment Day II," SP 60 (1963), 514-524. On etymological grounds it is proved that these are late loans, "not independently derived from the same West-Germanic origin as are the German cognates, for in that event we should have expected something like OE *drūd or *drȳd and *frēo(w)e or *frȳge, *frīge." The hypothesis advanced is "that there was in circulation in the later 10th-century England, or at any rate there was known to our particular author and perhaps some of his monastic associates, one or more (lost) OHG poems or prayers akin to the Mariendichtung, in which the terms drut and frowe were applied to the Virgin, and that our author echoed these familiar terms when he came upon the description of Mary in his source." The poet was English,

for there is no other trace of loan words or any evidence that he was not working in his native idiom. The concluding remark is here quoted, a sample of the lucidity and style that complement the very thorough scholarship of this writer:

> Judgment Day II is the sort of poem it is easy to imagine made popular monastic reading or recital, and it can hardly be thought that the sudden introduction of two foreign words would occasion, among the more cosmopolitan of the monks who read or heard it, much surprise or confusion, any more perhaps than does the occasional foreign phrase or quotation affected, en passant, by modern writers.

Maria, l. 295a, is elaborately capitalized in the MS.; the first a like the a of l. 47a, is different from the second.

Lines 296-300: The syntax of this final scene is difficult, and two different translations are possible. The Latin, ll. 150-151,

> Inter et ecclesiae sanctos natosque patresque
> Inter et aetherium caelesti pace senatum

is rather clear that Mary leads the virginal band "amidst the saints, the fathers, the sons of the church, amidst the etherial senate in celestial peace." The Old English has some significant changes and omissions. The first change is l. 298a, betweox fæder and sunu, rendering the Latin natosque patresque. Why the Latin plurals were rendered as singulars can only be conjectured. No variants listed by Fraipont or Whitbread would explain the change, but the actual copy may well have been

*natumque patremque. The scribe may have been influenced by the singular fæder of l. 297b which is the final word of l. 14, p. 165 of the MS., sunu may be a plural form of suna in late texts--see Campbell, sec. 49 and 377; Brunner, sec. 44, n. 7, and 271, n. 1, 2. We may conjecture that the scribal omission of the expected -as was simply undetected. In any event, the change is significant. The Latin clearly identifies the sons and fathers and without that reference, the Old English seems to refer here to the Deity. So Gordon translates: "between Father and Son." Freolicum werede which in no way approximates ecclesiae sanctos refers to the viginal band. The final two lines can be translated in two quite different ways, neither without its difficulty. If we appeal to the Latin where Mary is depicted leading only the virginal band, then l. 300, rice rædwitan rodera weardas are dual objects of betwyx, l. 299a. Thus construed, heo let, l. 296a, would simply be intransitive, "she will lead." However the syntax of l. 299, and betwyx þære ecan uplicum sibbe, suggests this is the object of the preposition which takes either the dative or the accusative. Such an interruption with a dative phrase between a preposition and its objects would be unusual. On the other hand, to take l. 300 as dual objects of let, as Dobbie construes it, changes the Latin radically, for then Mary leads more than the virginal band. Such a change would

be by no means untypical, and, indeed, the poet may have wanted to honor Mary even more than she is in the Latin. A more serious objection to this rendering, however, is that it is untypical of the poet to separate his verb and objects by three lines. But this is the climax of the scene, and the periodic sentence may have been an embellishment. I prefer the latter view, as offering less difficulty. This is the only citation in Bosworth-Toller for rædwitan, l. 300a, "a counselor, one wise in counsel," rendering the Latin senatum, l. 151. Though rice in no way renders the Latin aetherium, I construe it as an adjective of rædwitan. Gordon, as did Lumby, takes it as a noun, translating, "in the kingdom of the Counsellor." Such a reading is possible following Lumby's emendation of rodera weardas, l. 300b to rodera weardes. Characterizing God as the Counsellor is unusual, and with the Latin senatum, is highly unlikely. Rodera weardas, l. 300b, can be either an apposition or a second object.

Lines 301-306: This final rhetorical question, rendering the Latin ll. 152-154,

> Quid, rogo, quid durum saeclo censetur in isto
> Utque illas inter liceat habitare cohortes
> Sedibus et superum semper gaudere beatis

echoes the final argument of Jerome to the wavering monk Heliodorus: ut haec tibi frater, dicere, ut his interesse

contingat, qui nunc labor durus est? (Ep. XIV, PL 22.355).

304a eardian unbleoh: The adjective occurs only here in the poetry. There is only one other citation in Bosworth-Toller, which Dobbie quotes to confirm the word as a synonym for foremære, "illustrious." Earlier editors, citing incolumen of the received Latin text, l. 156, have offered emendations and explanations, but the Beta MS. ends at l. 154. Lumby conjectures that the word may have meant "uncorrupted," being the antonym of bleoh, which "may have been applied, as the English word is now, to that which is livid from approaching decay." So Gordon, translating "dwell without change," reads it. Löhe, following Wülker, emends to anwealh.

306a brucan blidnesse: This is the only occurrence of the noun in the poetry, the more typical being bliss. There are only five other citations in Bosworth-Toller. The poet is fond of these feminine nouns ending in -ness.

CHAPTER IV

Glossary

ā, adv., ever, always: 47a, 274a.

ābǣran, W I, to disclose, bring to light: abǣred, pp. 41b.

ābēodan, 2, to summon: aboden, pp. 129b.

ac, conj., but: 35a, 61b, 71a, 172a, 226a, 268a.

ācennan, W I, to bear: acende, 3 pret. sg., 293b.

āclǣnsian, W II, to wash, purge: aclænsad, pp. mns. 158b.

ācsian, W II, to ask: acsige, 1 pres. sg., 65a.

adam, m., Adam: adames, gs., 130a.

ādl, f., disease: ns. 229a, 259a.

æddre, f., vein: æddran, ap., 26a.

æfre, adv., ever: 131b, 257b.

æghwær, adv., everywhere, in every way: 228b.

æghwanum, adv., from all sides: 120a.

ælc, adj., each: mns. 238b.

ælmihtig, adj, almighty: mns. 69a, ælmihtiges, mgs., 287b.

æmelnes, f., tedium, disgust: ns. 229b; æmelnys, ns. 261b.

æmtig, adj., empty: nns. 149a.

ænig, adj., any: mns. 170a, 220a, nns. 257a; ænigu, fns. 267b; ænigre, fgs. 203b, 225b; ænigum, ds. 89b, 142a, 156a; ænegum, ds. 188a.

ænlīc, adj., beautiful, singular: ænlicu, fns. 292b; ænlicum, mds. 6b; ænlican, wk.nds. 282a; ænlican, wk.nap. 63b.

ǽrdǽd, g., former conduct: ǽrdǽdum, dp. 93b, 96b.

ǽrendraca, m., apostle: ǽrendracan, np. 287a.

ǽt, prep., before, from, of: 18b, 81b, 122b.

ǽtsomne, adv., at once, together: 143b, 165b, 172b, 191b, 235b, 275b.

ǽttren, adj., poisonous: ǽttrenum, ds. 146b.

āfǽran, W I, to terrify: afǽred, pp.mns. 126b; pp. 163b.

āfeormian, W II, to cleanse, purge: afeormad, pp. 157b.

āfyllan, W I, to fill: afylled, pp.mns. 77b.

āgyldan, 3, to render: inf. 74b.

āht, n, aught, anything: nns. 205b.

ālecgan, W I, to allay, diminish: inf. 110b.

ālȳfan, W I, to grant: alyfed, pp. 144a.

āmarian, W II, to confound: amarod, pp.mns. 126a.

āmasian, W II, to amaze: amasod, pp.mns. 126a.

ān, num., one, alone: ana, wk.mns. 1a, 46b, 72b; an, fns. 43a; ænne, mas. 89a; ane, fsa. 164a; anra, gp..96a, 280a.

and, conj., and: 3b, 5b, 7a, 7b, 9a, 10b, 13b, 17a, 18a, 19a, 20a, 22a, 23b, 24b, 25a, 31a, 32a, 36a, 37a, 42a, 72b, 44a, 48a, 55b, 56b, 57b, 62b, 63a, 74a, 76a, 80b, 83b, 85a, 87a, 88b, 90b, 91a, 94b, 98a, 100a, 101a, 101b, 102a, 105a, 106a, 106b, 108a, 116b, 125b, 126a, 129b, 152b, 153a, 153b, 158a, 162b, 163a, 164b, 167a, 168a, 169b, 173b, 174a, 179a, 180a, 182a, 185b, 192b, 193a, 200a, 200b, 202a, 206a, 206b, 211a, 212a, 214b, 226b, 227a, 229a, 229b, 230a, 231b, 235a(2), 236a, 237a, 238b, 240a, 245a, 246b, 247b, 248a, 250a, 251a, 252b, 269a,

269b, 270a, 271a, 271b, 275a (2), 276a, 277b, 278a, 283a, 283b, 285b, 288a, 298a, 299a, 305a.

andrysne, adv., terribly, fearfully: 94b.

andweard, adj., present: mns. 274a.

ängnes, f., anxiety: ns. 267a.

angrȳslīc, adj., terrible, horrible: mns. 226a.

ansȳn, f., sight, presence: ns. 203a, 225a; ansyne, ds. 120b.

ār, f., honor, respect: are, as. 156b; arna, gp. 170b.

āreccan, W I, to relate: inf. 187b.

ārfæstnes, f., honesty, goodness, mercy: ns. 220b, 269a.

ārlēas, adj., shameful: mns. 175a.

āstīfian, W II, to become stiff: astifad, pp.mns. 174a.

āstyrian, W I, to move, stir: astyrest, 2 pres. sg. 180a; astyred, pp.nns. 114a.

ātihtan, W I, to be attentive: atihtum, pp.dp. 69b.

atul, adj., dire, terrible: atule, wk.nns. 196a; atelan, wk.nnp. 218a.

āweg, adv., away: 223a.

āwiht, adv., at all: 134b.

āwyrgian, W II, to curse, condemn: awyrgedum, pp.dp. 184a.

bærnan, W I, to burn: bærnd, 3 pres. sg. 167b; byrnaþ, 3 pres. pl. 231b.

bān, n., bone: ap. 211b.

be, prep., according to: 96b, 122a, 170b.

bealu, n., harm, evil: bealuwes, gs. 195b.

bearo, m., grove, wood: bearwe, ds. 1b.

bēatan, 7, to strike: beate, 1 pres. sg. 30a; beatað, 3 pres. pl. 160b.

bebēodan, 2, to offer, commend: bebead, 3 pret. sg. 60a.

becuman, 4, to arrive: becumað, 3 pres. pl. 127a.

beforan, prep., before: 119b, 124a.

begitan, 5, to receive: begeat, 3 pret. sg. 62a.

behōn, 7, to bedeck: behangen, pp.mns. 291a.

behlǣnan, W I, to encircle: behlænað, 3 pres. pl. 115b.

belīfan, 1, to remain: belife, 3 opt. sg. 38b.

bēn, f., prayer: benum, dp. 33b; benā, ap. 60a.

beohrt, adj., bright: beorhtost, superl.mns. 291b.

bēon, anom., to be: inf. 133b, 187a, 301a; is, 3 pres. sg. 43a, 55b, 84a, 92b, 195b, 243b, 253b, 281b, 295a; bið, 86a, 104a, 123b, 129a, 143a, 151a, 203a, 205a, 213b, 223b, 225a, 226a, 228a, 244b, 247a, 259a, 263a, 266a; byþ, 93a, 145b, 147b; nis, 261a; beoð, 1 pres. pl., 119a; beoð, 3 pres. pl., 135a, 162a, 163b, 209a, 284a; synt, 191a; synd, 218a, 287a; beo, 2 pres. opt. 75a; sy, 3 pres. opt., 40a, 157a; wæs, 3 pret. sg., 8a, 9a, 40b, 54a, 57a, 190a; wæron, 3 pret. pl., 133a, 134b.

beorg, m., hill, mountain: beorga, gp. 101a.

beran, 4, to bear: gebær, 3 pret. sg. 132b.

besēon, 5, to drench: beseah, 3 pres. sg. 242a.

betwyx, prep., between, amidst: 199a, 285a, 288a, 298a, 299a.

beþeccan, W I, cover: beþeht, pp.mns. 2a.

beþung, f., bath, fomentation: beþunga, ap. 80b.

beweorđian, W II, to adorn: beweorđod, pp.mns. 118b.

biddan, 5, to ask, intreat: bidde, 1 pres. sg. 26a, 33a, 123a; bidst, 2 pres. sg. 80a.

bifian, W II, to tremble: bifađ, 3 pres. sg. 99a.

biter, adj., bitter: bitera, wk.mns. 173b; bitere, fds. 214a; biterum, dp. 242b; biteran, wk.nap. 224a.

biterlīce, adv., bitterly: 167a.

blāwan, 7, to blow: blawed, 3 pres. sg. 152b.

blind, adj., dark: blindum, nds. 231a; blindum, mdp. 242a.

bliss, f., joy: glisse, gs. 225b.

blissian, W II, to be happy: blissiendum, pres. part.dp. 286a.

blīđ, adj., happy: bliđe, mns. 251a, 279a.

blīđness, f., happiness: blidnesse, gs. 306a.

blōstma, m., flower: blostmum, ins.p. 291a.

blōwan, 7, to florish, blossom: bleowon, 3 pret. pl. 5b.

braslian, W II, to crackle: braslađ, 3 pres. sg. 152b.

brēgan, W I, to frighten: bregađ, 3 pres. pl. 112b; breged, pp. 214b.

brēme, adj., famous: breman, wk.mgs. 297b.

brēost, n., m., f., breast: nns. 213b; breostes, ngs. 42a; breost, nas. 30a; breoste, ap. 160a.

brēostgehygd, f., n., thought: breostgehyda, gp. 173a; breostgehigdum, dp. 60b.

bringan, W I, to bring: brohte, pp. 119a.

brōga, m., fear, terror: mns. 123b.

brūcan, 2, to enjoy: inf. 306a.

bryg, f., dwelling: brygum, dp. 286b.

bryne, m., fire: ns. 155a; ds. 210a; as. 195a.

brynig, adj., aflame: brynigum, mdp. 212b.

brȳsan, W I, to bruise, crush: inf. 49b.

brytta, m., lord, God: ns. 117b, 279b.

būgan, 2, to sink, fall: bugaƀ, 3 pres. pl. 101b.

burg, f., city: byrgum, dp. 286b.

būtan, prep., conj., without, unless: būton, 157a; butan, 201b, 204a, 206a, 208a, 306b.

bȳsn, f., example: bysne, as. 53b.

caru, f., care, anxiety: ns. 262a; care, ds. 214a.

ceald, n., coldness: ns. 193a; cealdes, gs. 264b.

ceorfan, 3, to tear: ceorfaƀ, 3 pres. pl. 169b.

clǣne, adj., clean: wk.fns. 294b.

cnōsl, n., race, progeny: ns. 130a.

crīst, m., Christ: ns. 52a; cristes, gs. 98a; criste, ds. 98a.

cuman, 4, to come: cymeƀ, 3 pres. sg. 71a; cumaƀ, 111a, 113a; cymƀ, 256a; cume, 3 pres. opt. 158a; cumene, pp.mnp. 120a.

cwæƀan, 5, to say: cwæƀ, 1 pret. sg. 25a; cwæde, 2 pret. sg. 12a.

cweartern, n., prison: as. 217a.

cwellere, m., tormentor: cwelra, gp. 204a.

cwyld, m., pestilence, destruction: ns. 259b, cwyldas, ap. 249b.

cwylman, W I, to torment: cwylmaƌ, 3 pres. pl. 204b; cwylmed, pp. 54b, 217b.

cyle, m., cold: ns. 260b, ds. 196a, as. 206a.

cyme, m., advent, coming: as. 14a, 98a.

cyning, m., king: cyningc, ns. 95a.

cynn, n., race, class: cynn, as. 19b.

cȳþan, W I, make known, announce: cyþst, 2 pres. sg. 66b; cyþaƌ, 3 pres. pl. 98b; cyƌde, 3 pret. sg. 142b.

dǣd, f., deed: dædum, dp. 122a.

dǣdbōt, f., penance: dædbote, as. 85a.

dæg, m., day: ns. 71a.

dægcūƌ, adj., clear as day: nsn. 40a.

dægtīd, f., daytime, time: dægtide, ds. 136b.

dēaþ, m., death: deaƌes, gs. 14b, 266b; deaƌe, ds. 59b.

dēaþbēacnigende, adj., threatening death: nnp. 112a.

dēma, m., judge: deman, gs. 76b; deman, as. 171b.

dēman, W I, to judge: inf. 95b; demst, 2 pres. sg. 87a; demeƌ, 3 pres. sg. 71b.

dēofol, m., devil, demon: deoflum, dp. 183a.

deorc, adj., dark, gloomy: mns. 106a.

derian, W I, to injure: deriende, pres. part. mnp. 232a.

dīgol, adj., unknown: dihle, nns. 40b; dihlan, wk.asf. 20b;

digle, nnp. 136a.

dimhīw, adj., dark colored, gloomy: mns. 106a.

dimm, adj., dark: dimman, wk.mgs. 14a.

dōm, m., judgment: as. 15b, 122a.

dōmsetl, n., judgment seat: domsetle, ds. 124a.

dōn, anom., to do: dest, 2 pres. sg. 176a; do, 3 pres. sg. opt. 85a.

dreccan, W I, to afflict: dreccaƀ, 2 pres. pl. 35a.

drēogan, 2, to be busy: dreogest, 2 pres. sg. 176b.

drēorig, adj., sad, dreary: dreorige, nap. 35a.

drēosan, 2, to fall, perish: dreosaƀ, 3 pres. pl. 100a.

drihten, m., lord: ns. 183b, 272b; drihtnes, gs. 21b, 124b; drihtne, ds. 37b, 85b, 122b; drihtene, as. 59a.

dropa, m., drop: dropum, dp. 36a.

druncennes, f., drunkenness: ns. 234a.

drūt, f., beloved one: ns. 292b.

dūn, f., mountain, hill: duna, np. 99b.

dwolma, m., state or place of confusion, chaos: ns. 106b.

ēac, conj., also, likewise: 5a, 15a, 17a, 21a, 92a, 99b, 104a, 111a, 145b, 196a, 230a, 236a.

ēadig, adj., happy, fortunate: mns. 163a; eadegum, ndp. 305b.

ēage, n., eyes: eagan, np. 194a.

ēahgemearc, n., limit fixed by sight: eahgemearces, gs. 149b.

eal, adv., completely: 4b, 9b, 151b, 195b; eall, 12a, 41b, 58b; ealle, 292a.

eale, interj., O!: 247a.

eall, adj., all: nsm. 175a; nsf. 99a, 128a, 146a; nsn. 115a, 130a, 137a, 141a, 149a; ealle, asf. 32b, 251b; asn. 19b, 103a, 104a, 145a, 147a, 213b, 272a; ealle, isn. 233b; ealle, npm. 163b, 165b; ealle, apm. 172a, 274b; ealle, apf. 26b; ealra, gp. 135b, 273b, 297a; eallum, dp. 135a, 143a.

ēar, n., ear: earum, dp. 69b.

eardian, W II, dwell: inf. 304a.

earh, adj., cowardly, timid: mns. 125b.

earm, adj., poor, wretched: mns. 163a, 164b; earma, wk.mns. 240a; earme, wk.nsn. 65b, 213a; earme, nns. 9a; earmre, fds. 43b; earmun, mdp. 220a; earme, map. 243a; earman, wk.ap. 112a, 167b, 204b; earmra, wk., as noun, 93a.

earmlīc, adj., miserable: earmlice, nap. 188b.

earmsceapen, adj., wretched, miserable: earmsceapene, mnp. 197b; earmsceapenra, mgp. as noun, 23a.

ēce, adj., eternal, perpetual: mns. 272b; nns. 269b; eces, mgs. 76b; ecum, mds. 37a; ecan, wk.fds. 299a; ecne, mas. 115b, 128b; ece, fas. 280b; ece, nas. 17a; ecan, wk.nnp. 218b.

ēcnes, f., eternity: ecnesse, ds. 304a.

ēfestan, W I, to hasten: efested, 3 pres. sg. 153b.

ege, m., fear, horror: ns. 226b, as. 165a, as.

egesa, m., fear, terror: egsan, as., 181b.

egeslīc, adv., dreadfully: 94a; egeslica (adj.) wk.mns. 102a.

elles, adv., else: 202b.

embūtan, adv., about, around: 114b.

emne, adj., exactly: emnes, ngs. (adv.) 151b.

ende, m., end: ds. 243a, 306b.

engel, m., angel: engla, gp. 50b, 115a, 128a, 282b.

ēoredheap, m., troop, host: eoredheapas, np. 113b.

eorðe, f., earth: ns. 99a; eorðan, gs. 72a; eorðan, ds. 14b, 16b, 31b, 87b, 98b, 188a, 140b.

eorþbūend, m., earth dweller: eorðbuendra, gp. 130b.

fæder, m., father: ns. 275b; gs. 297b; as. 298a.

fægere, adv., beautifully: 277a.

færinga, adv., suddenly: 10a, 119a.

færlic, adj., unexpected: mns. 259b.

fæsthafolnes, f., avarice: ns. 237a.

faran, 6, to go: færð, 3 pres. sg. 147a.

fēdan, W I, to bring forth: feded, pp. 131b.

fēfur, m., fever: ns. 259a.

fela, indec. adj., many: 159a, 216a.

feor, adv., far: 237b.

feormian, W II, to cleanse: feormast, 2 pres. sg. 78b.

fēran, W I, to come: inf. 97b.

fers, n., verse: ap. 11a.

flǣsc, n., flesh: ns. 78a, 176a, 215a; flæsces, gs. 42a, 51a.

flēon, 2, to flee: flyhđ, 3 sg. pres. 223a, 240a.

flōd, n., flood: ns. 166a.

folc, n., people: folca, gp. 159b.

folde, f., earth: foldan, ds. 131a.

fōn, 7, receive: fehđ, 3 pres. sg. 275a.

for, conj., because, for: 215a.

for, prep., because of, from: 16a, 34b, 87b, 93b, 161b, 186b, 195a, 196a.

forbūgan, 2, to avoid: inf. 155b, 250b.

fōrebēacen, n., foretoken, wonder: forebeacn, np. 97a.

fōresteal, m., hindrance: ns. 147b.

forfōn, 7, to anticipate: forfoh, imp. 76a.

forgifnes, f., forgiveness: forgifnesse, gs. 68a, 91a.

forht, adj., fearful: mns. 10b.

forhte, adv., dispairingly: 161a.

forhtian, W II, to fear: fohrtas, 2 pres. sg. 181a.

forhyccan, W I, to reject: inf. 90a.

forstandan, 6, to aid, avail: forstent, 3 pres. sg. 55a.

forsweorcan, 3, to grow dark: forswyrcđ, 3 pres. sg. 108a; forsworcenum, pp.dp. 199a.

forđ, adv., hence, thence: 306b.

forđon, conj., because: 165a.

forwyrnan, W I, to restrain, prevent: inf. 148b.

frætwian, W II, to adorn: frætuađ, 3 pres. sg. 277a.

frēa, m., lord: ns. 19a; frean, ds. 74a, 81b; frean, as. 293b.

frēcne, adj., horrible, dangerous: frecnan, fas. 215b.

fremman, W I, to make, do: inf. 224b.

frēolīc, adj., comely, goodly: freolicum, nds. 289b.

frēolīce, adv., freely: 277b.

frīnan, 2, to ask: frineđ, 2 pres. sg. 302b.

frōfor, m., f., n., comfort, solace: ns. 223a.

frōwe, f., lady: ns. 293a.

fūl, n., foulness: as. 206b.

fūle, adj., foul, fap. 189a.

full, adj., full, entire: mns. 195b.

fultum, m., help, succour: ns. 223b.

fȳr, n., fire: ns. 147a; fyres, ngs. 189b, 210b; fyre, inst.p. 166b.

fȳren, adj., fiery: mns. 152a; fyrene, mas. 181b.

fyrenian, W II, to sin, revile: fyrngende, pres. part. nns. 215b.

fyrenlust, m., sinful lust: fyrenlustum, dp. 161b.

fyrhtu, f., terror: ns. 226b.

fȳst, f., fist: fyste, fds. 29b, 161a.

gælsa, m., lust: ns. 238b; gælsan, gs. 180b.

gālnys, f., lust: galnysse, ds. 179b.

gāst, m., spirit: gastum, dp. 184a.

gē, pron., you plural: n. 27a, 34a; eow, a. 26a, 33a.

gearwu, adj., appointed: gearugne, mas. 68b, 91b.

geat, n., gate: geatu, ap. 63b.

geban, n., summons to assemble: ns. 129a.

gebēdstōw, f., a prayer place: gebedstowe, fsd. 30b.

gebeorh, n., refuge: ns. 224b.

geblētsian, W II, to bless: gebletsodost, supl.pp.fns. 297a.

geblyssian, W II, to fill with bliss: geblyssaƀ, 3 pres. sg. 275a.

gebrastl, n., crackling sound: ns. 260a.

geȝīgan, W I, to invoke: gecige, 1 pres. sg. 32b.

geclypian, W II, to declare: geclypede, 3 pret. sg. 138b.

gecȳƀan, W I, to make known: gecyƀe, 3 pres. opt. 45b.

gedrēfan, W I, to afflict: gedrefeƀ, 3 pres. sg. 103b; gedrefed, pp. 9b; gedrefed, pp.mns. 25b.

gedwæscan, W I, to extinguish: inf. 52b.

gedwīnan, 1, to vanish: gedwineƀ, 3 pres. sg. 234b; gedwinaƀ, 3 pres. pl. 232b.

gedyrstig, adj., bold: gedyrstig, mns. 171a.

geearnian, W II, to merit: geearnade, pp.nas. 32a.

gefaran, 6, to go: gefor, 3 pret. sg. 63a.

gefēa, m., joy: gefean, np. 233a.

gefremman, W I, to do: inf. 156b; gefremme, 3 pres. sg. opt. 154b; gefremede, 3 pret. sg. 139b.

gefyllan, w I, to occupy a place entirely: gefylled, pp. 145b; pp.nns. 151b; gefyle, pp.mnp. 209b.

gegladian, W II, to make glad: gegladaƌ, 3 pres. sg. 221b.

gehæge, n., a meadow, garden: ds. 4a.

gehælan, W I, to cure, save: inf. 47b.

gehende, adj., prep., near: 59b, 171b.

gehrēran, W I, to move: gehrered, pp. 8b.

gehwā, pron., every one, each: gehwam, mds. 18a, 280a.

gehwylc, pron., each: mns. 121a, gehwlces, mgs. 186a; gehwylcum, mds. 96a; gehwylc, nas. 273a.

gehȳrian, W I, to hear: gehyreƌ, 3 pres. sg. 70b.

gelēafful, adj., believing, holy: geleaffullum, mdp. 61b.

gelīc, adj., like: gelicast, superl.mns. 174b.

gelīce, adv., in like manner: 144a, [illegible]

gelimpan, 3, to occur: gelimpeƌ, 3 pres. sg. 257b.

gemang, prep., among: 282a, 303b.

gemengan, W I, to mix: gemenged, pp. 191b.

gemētan, W I, to find: gemeted, pp. 205b; gemet, pp. 225a.

gemong, n., crowd, assembly: gemonge, ds. 6a; gemang, as. 284b.

gemunan, prp, to remember: gemune, 3 pres. opt. 123a; gemunde, 1 pret. sg. 12b, 21a, 24a; gemyne, imp. 92a.

geniman, 4, to take up or away: genimƌ, 3 pres. sg. 254a.

genīp, n., darkness: genipu, ap. 110b.

gēo, adv., formerly, of old: 183a.

geopenian, W II, to show, manifest: geopeniað, 2 pres. pl. 37a.

gēotan, 2, to shed, pour out: inf. 82b.

geregnian, W II, to arrange: geregnað, 3 pres. sg. 278b.

gesælig, adj., happy, blessed: mns. 247a; gesæligost, superl.mns. 248b.

gesceppan, 6, to form, create: gesceop, 3 pret. sg. 53a.

gesēon, 5, to see: gesewen, pp. 203a.

geswæccan, W I, to smell: inf. 207b.

geswencan, W I, to torment, trouble: geswenced, pp.fns. 256b.

gesweorcan, 3, to become dark: gesworcen, pp. 105a.

gesweotolian, W II, to make clear, manifest: gesweotolude, pp. 135b.

geswinc, n., affliction: nns. 257a.

gesȳman, W I, to burden: gesymed, pp.mns. 58b.

gesynto, f., physical soundness: gesyntum, dp. 249a.

getellan, W I, to reckon: geteald, pp. 134b.

getēon, W II, to prepare: geteode, 3 pret. sg. 183b.

geþanc, m., n., thought: as. 65b; geþancas, np. 136a.

geþencan, W I, to seem: geþohte, 3 pret. sg. 137b.

geþēodan, W I, to join: geþeode, pp.np. 284a.

geþēon, 1, 3, thrive to the lord: inf. 252a.

geþūxian, W II, to grow dark: geþuxsað, 3 pres. sg. 105b.

geþwærnes, f., concord, agreement: ns. 271b.

gewēpan, 7, to weep, lament: inf. 177b.

gewītan, 1, to perish, die: gewiteđ, 3 pres. sg. 236b, 237b; gewitađ, 3 pres. pl. 233b.

gewrixl, n., regular alteration: as. 197a.

gewrycan, W I, to commit: gewrohte, 3 pret. sg. 216b.

gewyrht, m., work, deed: gewyrhtum, dp. 170b.

gicel, m., ice: gicela, gp. 192b.

gif, conj., if: 86b, 302a.

gifu, f., gift: ns. 281b.

glæd, adj., happy: mns. 86a, 179a.

glædlīce, adv., gladly, kindly: 273b.

glīdan, 1, to slide: glidene, pp.nap. 47a.

gnagan, 6, to gnaw: gnagađ, 3 pres. pl. 212a.

gnorn, m., sorrow, sadness: as. 86b.

gnornung, f., grief, lamentation: ns. 267b.

gōd, n., the good: ns. 269b; goda, gp. 273b.

gōd, adv., well: 47b, gode.

god, m., God: ns. 71b, 88a; godes, mgs. 86a, 287b, 292b; gode, mds. 18b; msa. 13b.

grēotan, 2, to lament: inf. 82a.

grim, adj., fierce: grimmum, nds. 190b.

gristbītung, f., gnashing of teeth: ns. 227b.

grund, m., ground, bottom, abyss: grunde, ds. 189b.

gryre, m., terror, horror: ns. 266b; as. 8a.

gryrran, W I, to gnash: gryrrađ, 3 pres. pl. 196b.

gyldan, 3, to give, render: inf. 73a.

gylt, m., crime, sin, guilt: gyltas, np. 245b; gylta, gp. 39b, 56b; gyltas, ap. 47a, 88b.

gyte, m., pouring, shedding: sa. 79a.

habban, W III, to have: inf. 253a; fæfst, 2 pres. sg. 68a; hæfđ, 3 pres. sg. 164a; habbađ, 3 pres. pl. 165a.

hǣlu, f., health, salvation: ns. 43a; hæle, as. 62a.

hagalscūr, m., hail of showers: hagulscuras, np. 265a.

hālig, adj., holy: haligra, gp. 22a, 283a; halige, map. 285b.

hālwende, adj., salutary: nns. 84a.

hand, f., hand: ns. 139a.

hāt, n., heat: ns. 193a.

hāte, adv., hotly: 28a.

hē, 3 pers. pron., he: mns. 45a, 59a, 61a, 110a, 142a, 154a, 157a, 195b; heo, fns. 296a; hit, nns. 40a, 217a; his, mgs. 20b, 49a, 60a, 62a, 120a, 122a, 252a; him, mds. 119b, 148a, 273a; hym, 216a; hy, np. 207a, 284a; hi, 165a; heora, gp. 160a, 168a, 212a; hy, ap. 211a.

hēaf, m., weeping: mas. 90b.

hēah, adj., high: hean, mns. 278b.

hēahfæder, m., patriarch: heahfæderas, ap. 285a.

hēahsetl, n., throne, seat of justice: heahsetle, sd. 118a.

hēahþrymm, m., high host, great glory: heah-rymme, instru. sg. 95a.

healdan, 7, to protect: hylt, 3 pres. sg. 276a.

hēalīc, adj., heavenly: nsf. 281b.

hēan, adj., base, low: heanra, gp. 39b.

hēanlīc, adj., ignominious: mns. 258b.

hēap, m., host, multitude: ns. 175a; heapum, dp. 283b; heapas, ap. 288b.

heard, adj., hard: hearde, np. 265b.

heard, n., hardness: heardes, gs. 301a.

hearm, m., harm: hearmes, gs. 137b.

helan, 4, to conceal, keep silent: hæl, 3 pret. sg. 144b.

helle, m., hell: ds. 190b, 193b.

helm, m., crown, overshadowing foliage of trees: helme, ds. 2a; helme, instru.s. 118b.

help, f., m., help: as. 62b.

hēnþ, f., disgrace: henða, ap. 88b.

heofon, m., heaven: heofenes, gs. 88a; heofone, ds. 111b.

heofone, f., heaven: heofonan, gs. 22b.

heofonlīc, adj., heavenly: heofonlican, wkngs. 255a; heofonlice, fap. 281a.

heofonrīce, n., heavenly kingdom: heofonrices, gs. 70a; heofonrice, as. 253a.

heofonsetl, n., heavenly throne: heofonsetle, ds. 278a.

heonone, adv., hence: 232b, 236b.

heorte, f., heart: ns. 137a; heortan, ap. 168a.

heortlēas, adj., without courage, cowed: mns. 125b.

heortscræf, n., recesses of the heart: heortscræfe, ds. 39a.

hēr, adv., here: 45a, 84b, 95b, 157b, 179a, 301b.

here, m., multitude, host: hergea, gp. 125a.

hider, adv., hither: 111a.

hiht, m., f., comfort: hihta, gp. 44b, 253b.

hinder, adv., back, behind, down: 241b.

hleahter, m., laughter: ns. 235a.

hlēapan, 7, leap, jump, run: hleapaƀ, 3 pres, pl. 235b.

hlēo, n., m., shelter, covering: as. 127b.

hlēor, n., face, cheek: hleorum, ndp. 28a; hleor, nap. 35a.

hliƀ, n., slope, declivity: hliƀu, np. 101a.

holt, m., n., wood, grove, copse: holte, ds. 2b.

hopa, m., hope: ns. 221a.

horu, m., filth, foulness: horwe, ds. 77a; horwum, dp. 157a.

horxclīc, adj., foul: horxlice, mnp. 168a.

hræd, adj., quick, speedy: hrædra, comp. 75a, 95a.

hrēoh, adj., fierce: mns. 262b.

hrēosan, 2, to rush down: hreosaƀ, 3 pres. pl. 100a, 107b.

hrēow, f., sorrow: ns. 56a.

hrēowlīc, adj., sorrowing: hreowlicum, dp. 75b.

hryre, m., decay: ns. 262a.

hū, adv., how: 19a, 53a, 55a, 55b, 92b, 94a, 94b, 123b, 154a.

hunger, m., hunger: ns. 258a.

hwā, indef. pron., anyone: hwæne, mas. 141a.

hwæt, interj., lo: 1a.

hwæt, inter. pron., what: 77a, 176a, 176b, 177a, 301a.

hwī, adv., conj., why: 66a, 67a, 78b, 80a, 181a, 215a.

hwīlum, adv., at times, for a time: 194a, 196a.

hwīt, adj., white: hwitra, wk.gp. 290a.

hwylc, indef. pron., which: hwylce, np. 96a.

hwyorfan, 3, to turn, go: hwyrfd, 3 pres. sg. 290b.

hyht, m., hope, joy: hihta, gp. 44b.

hȳnþ, f., harm: henda, ap. 88b.

hyrst, f., ornament, thing of value: hyrsta, ap. 281a.

ic, pron., I: ns. 1a, 4b, 10a, 15a, 17a, 21a, 24a, 24b, 25a, 26a, 29a, 32b, 33a, 65a, 75a, 123a; sa. me, 15a, 17b, 24a; we, np. 119a; us, ap. 149a; us, dp. 293a.

iernan, 3, to run: yrnad, 3 pres. pl. 231b; urnon, 3 pret. pl. 3b.

in, prep., in, on: 63a, 190a.

innan, prep., in, into, within: 1b; innon, 6a.

inne, adv., within: 38b, 198b, 205a.

lā, interj., lo, alas, ah: 65b, 176a.

lǣce, m., physician: mds. 46a; mas. 66b.

lǣcedom, m., medicine, cure: lǣcedomes, gs. 81a.

lǣdan, W I, to lead: læt, 3 pres. sg. 292a; let, 3 pres. sg. 296a.

lǣran, W I, to advise: lære, 1 pres. sg. 75a.

lagu, f., law: laga, as. 164b.

lang, adj., long: langan, wk.fas. 13b.

lange, adv., for a long time: 66a, 144b.

lāð, adj., hateful: nns. 244b.

lāðlīc, adj., loathesome: mns. 263b; laðlica, wk.mns. 260b; laðlices, ngs. 210b; laðlic, nas. 206a.

latian, W II, linger, delay: latast, 2 pres. sg. 66a.

leahter, m., sin, fault: leahtra, gp. 13a; leahtrum, dp. 77b.

lēan, n., reward: leane, ds. 184b.

lecgan, W I, to cause to lie: lecge, 1 pres. sg. 31b.

lēof, adj., dear, loved: leofest, superl.nns. 244a.

lēoflīc, adj., lovely, beautiful: fns. 271b.

lēoht, n., light: leohtes, gs. 219a, 255b.

lēohtan, W I, to give light: leoht, 3 pres. sg. 219a.

licgan, 5, to lie: ligst, 2 pres. sg. 77a.

līchama, m., body: lichaman, sa. 31a.

līf, n., life: ns. 271a; lifes, gs. 13a, 81a, 81b; life, ds. 244a, 301b.

lifgan, W II, to live: leofast, 2 pres. sg. 179a.

līg, m., n., flame: ns. 152a, 192a; liges, gs. 260a; lige, ds. 146b, 150b, 230b; lig, as. 206a; ligum, dp. 242b.

līget, m., n., lightning: ns. 263a.

līgspīwol, adj., vomiting flame: ligspiwelum, mds. 210a.

lof, m., n., praise, glory: ns. 271a.

lufian, W II, to love: lufaƌ, 3 pres. sg. 277b.

lust, m., joy, pleasure: lustum, dp. 70b.

lyft, m., f., n., air, sky, atmosphere: fns. 146a.

lyre, m., loss, destruction: ns. 266a.

lȳt, adv., adj., indecl., few, little: 61a.

lȳtel, adj., small: mns. 219b.

mæden, n., maiden: mædena, gp. 295b.

mædenhēap, m., troop of maidens, ns. 290b.

mægƌ, f., race, kin: mægƌa, gp. 159a.

mære, adj., famous, exalted: fns. 55b; mæran, wk.sma. 116a.

mærƌ, f., glory, greatness: mærƌe, as. 21b.

mæst, adj., greatest: mns. 125a; nns. 253b.

magan, prop., can, to be able: mæg, 3 pres. sg. 46b, 148a, 170a, 187a, 250a, 301a; magon, 3 pres. pl. 207a; mæge, 3 pres. opt. sg. 110b, 224b; miht, 2 pret. sg. 177a.

man, indef. pron., one, people: 84b, 144b, 148a, 170a.

mān, n., a crime, wickedness: manes, gs. 139b; man, as. 37a.

mānƌæƌ, f., evil deed: manƌædum, fdp. 16b.

mānful, adj., wicked: nns. 57b.

manlīca, m., human form: manlican, ds. 132b.

mann, m., a person: ns. 123a; mannes, gs. 139a; men, ds. 89b, 142a; manna, gp. 19b, 103a, 186a, 196b; men, ap. 197b.

maria, f., Mary: ns. 295a.

meahtlēas, adj., powerless: mihtleas, mns. 126b.

mēƌ, f., reward: mede, as. 280b.

meltan, 3, to melt: myltaƌ, 3 pres. pl. 101b.

mēowle, f., virgin: ns. 294b.

metod, m., Creator, Lord: as. 116a, 294a.

micel, adj., great: mns. 55a, 92b, 123b; nns. 129a; miclum, ds. (adv.) 103b, 196a; miclan, wk.mas. 15b.

micelnyss, f., greatness: micelnysse, ds. 186b.

mid, prep, with, within: 2a, 11b, 24a, 29b, 35b, 49a, 54a, 58a, 61a, 64b, 70b, 75b, 78a, 79a, 151a, 161a, 180a, 207a, 214a, 233b, 234b, 241a, 246a, 246b, 249a, 265b, 268b.

middan, prep., amidst: an middan, 4a.

miht, f., might, power: mihte, gs. 109b; miht, as. 20b, 148b; mihte, inst.s. 116b.

mihtig, adj., mighty, powerful: mns. 19a.

mīn, pron., my: nns. 9a; minne, mas. 31a; mine, nas. 30a; minum, dp. 16b.

mōd, n., mind: ns. 9a, 227a; as. 47a, 50a, 103a, 245a; mode, ds. 25b, 92a; modum, dp. 286a.

mōdor, f., mother: ns. 132a.

molde, f., earth: moldan, ds. 294a.

mōna, m., moon: ns. 109a.

morgen, m., morning: as. 108b.

mōtan, prp. to be allowed: mot, 3 pres. sg. 252b; mote, pres. sg. opt. 303a.

murcnian, W II, to complain, grieve: murcnigende, pres. part. mns. 25a.

murnan, 3, to mourn, be sad: mearn, 1 pret. sg. 24b.

nā, adv., never: 148a.

nabban, W III, not to have, to lack: næfđ, 3 pres. sg. 109a.

nǣfre, adv., never: 254b.

nǣnig, adj., not any: nænig, fns. 187a.

nān, adj., none, no: mns. 147b, 223b; fns. 201a; nanes, mgs. 260a; nanre, fgs. 109b.

nāwiht, n., nothing: nns. 202a; nāht, nas. 207b.

ne, adv., not: 34a, 38a, 38b, 40a, 49a, 51a, 53a, 66b, 78b, 80a, 88a, 90a, 109a, 147b, 148a (2), 155a, 170a, 181a, 203a, 205a, 207a, 219a, 220b, 221a (2), 221b, 222a, 222b, 223b, 225a, 254a, 256a (2), 256b, 247a, 259a (2), 259b, 260b, 261b, 262a (2), 262b, 263a, 263b, 264a, 264b, 265a, 266a (2), 266b, 267a (2), 267b.

neorxnawang, m., paradise: neorxnawonges, gs. 64a.

nerigend, m., savior: nerigende, ds. 64b.

niht, f., night: ns. 254a; nihte, gs. 110a; nihtum, dp. 199b.

nosu, f., nose: nosan, ds. 207a.

nū, adv., now: 33b, 68a, 69a, 82a, 84a, 176b, 178a, 243b.

of, prep., from: 28a, 111b, 127b.

ofen, m., oven, furnace: ofnes, gs. 195a.

ofer, prep., over: 89a, 147a.

ofergēotan, 2, to cover by pouring: ofergeotađ, 3 pres. pl. 36b.

ofergesǣlig, adj., exceedingly happy: mns. 247b.

oferswīðan, W I or 1, to surpass: oferswiðað, 3 pres. pl. 185a.

ōga, m., fear, terror: mns. 172b.

on, prep., on, upon, among: 4a, 6b, 14b, 16b, 22b, 30b, 31b, 39a, 54b, 57a, 77a, 87b, 92a, 89b, 108b, 118a, 131a, 136b, 140a, 140b, 141b, 175b, 177a, 179b, 188a, 189b, 190b, 189a, 215b, 217a, 230b, 231a, 239b, 241b, 243a, 244a, 248a, 251b, 278a, 284b, 294a, 301b, 304b, 305a.

onbindan, 3, to unbend, set free: inf. 48b.

ondrǣdan, 7, to dread, fear: ondrǣd, imper. sg. 182a; ondrǣde, 1 wk. pret. sg., 15a, 17b.

onginnan, 3, to begin: onginnað, 3 pres. pl. 97b.

onhebban, W I, to take up, begin: onhefde, 1 pret. sg. 11b.

ontȳnan, W I, to open: inf. 27b.

onweg, adv., away, off: 238a.

open, adj., open: 143b; openum, ndp. 41a.

ormǣtness, f., immensity: ormætnesse, ds. 208b.

oððe, conj., or: 67a, 94a, 97a, 132a, 133a, 133b, 134a, 138a, 139a, 142b, 156a, 258a (2), 258b.

ōwiht, n., aught, anything: ns. 38a.

pic, n., pitch: pices, gs. 200a.

plaster, n., plaster (medicament): as. 80a.

plēga, m., play: ns. 235a.

rǣdwita, m., counsellor: rædwitan, ap. 300a.

rǣpling, m., prisoner: ræplingas, ap. 48b.

ræscettan, W I, to crackle, as fire: ræsct, 3 pres. sg. 153b; ræscet, 3 pres. sg. 166b.

rēad, adj., red: ns. 153a; readum, ds. 150b; reade, ap. 288b.

recene, adv., quickly, at once: 28b, 48b, 62b.

rēđe, adj., cruel, fierce: reađe, mns. 153a; ređe, wk.nns. 166a.

rīce, adj., great, powerful: rican, mds. 74a; rice, map. 300a.

rīce, n., kingdom: ds. 22b; ricu, ap. 296b.

rīcsian, W II, to reign, rule: ricxađ, 3 pres. sg. 268a.

riht, n., account, reckoning: as. 74b.

rōd, f., cross: rode, ds. 54b, 57a.

rodor, m., sky: roderes, gs. 150a; rodera, gp. 300b.

rōse, f., rose: rosena, gp. 288a.

ryne, m., a course, orbit: ds. 150a.

sǣ, f., sea, ocean: gs. 102b.

samod, adv., together: 127a, 251a, 268a.

sang, m., song, singing: sange, ds. 11b.

sār, n., mental or bodily pain: ns. 256a, as. 32a.

sārgung, f., lamentation, grief: sargunge, ds. 246b.

sāri, adj., sad, sorrowful: nns. 227a.

sāwel, f., soul: sauwle, ds. 43b; sauwle, np. 230b; saula, ap. 167b.

scād, n., account, reckoning: as. 73a.

sceadu, f., shadow: sceade, ds. 239b.

sceamian, W II, to feel shame: sceamode, 3 pret. opt. 141b.

scearplīc, adj., sharp, keen: scearplice, fas. 53b.

sceaþa, m., criminal: ns. 57a; scaþa, ns. 53a.

scēne, adj., beautiful, fair: scenan, wk.nnp. 296a.

scīma, m., splendor, brightness: sciman, as. 255b.

scīnan, 1, to shine: scinaḍ, 3 pres. pl. 289a; scinendan, pres. part. wk.nap. 296b.

scræf, n., cave, hollow: scræfe, ds. 231a, scræfum, dp. 140a.

sculan, prp., shall, must: scealt, 2 pres. sg. 72b, 82a, 90a.

scyld, f., guilt, crime: scylda, gp. 141b.

scyldig, adj., guilty, criminal: mns. 57b, 239a.

scyndan, W I, to hurry: inf. 239a.

scyppend, m., Creator: as. 73b.

sē, rel. pron., who, which: 46b, 247a, 249a; þæt, nns. 40b, 144b, 149a, 243b; þa, np. 185a; þa, ap. 183a.

sē, dem. pron., the: 53a, 57a, 71a, 86a, 102a, 109a, 123b, 155a, 164b, 173b, 192a, 192b, 240a, 260b; seo, fns. 56a, 108a, 137a, 138a, 293a, 294b; þæt, nns. 92b, 166a, 213a, 253b, 381b, 295a; þæs, mgs. 14a, 180b, 195a, 297b; þære, fgs. 110a; þæs, ngs. 255a; þam, mds. 6a, 44a, 74a; þæm, mds. 302b; þære, fds. 136b, 299a; þam, nds. 282a, 303b; þone, mas. 15b, 51a, 116a; þa, fas. 13b, 177a; þæt, nas. 17a, 76a, 245a; þa, np. 3a, 7a, 99b, 133a, 196a, 209a, 218a, 245b, 287a; þara, gp. 22a, 93a,

204a, 222a; þæra, gp. 283a, 290a; þa, ap. 63b, 112b, 167b, 204b, 224a, 296a; þy, instrum. 151a.

sealt, adj., salty: sealtum, mdp. 36a.

secgan, W III, to say: inf. 302a; 1 pres. sg. secge, 4b.

sefa, m., mind, understanding: sefan, as. 185b.

sēlest, adj., best: fns. 44b; selast, fns. 295b.

sellan, W I, to give: syldᵭ, 3 pres. sg. 280a.

setl, n., seat: setlum, dp. 305b.

sib, f., peace: ns. 221a, 268b; sibbe, ds. 299b.

sigelbeorht, adj., bright as sun: mns. 117a.

sigor, m., victory, triumph: sigores, gs. 279b.

sittan, 5, to sit: sitt, 3 pres. sg. 117a; sæt, 1 pret. sg. 1a.

slǣp, m., sleep: ns. 240b, 258b.

sleac, adj., inactive, lazy: mns. 241a.

slēan, 6, to strike, smite: slea, 1 pres. sg. 29a.

slincan, 3, to slink, crawl: inf. 241b.

slītan, W I, to tear, bite: slitaᵭ, 3 pres. pl. 169b, 211b.

slūma, m., slumber: sluman, ds. 241a.

smoca, m., smoke: smocan, wk.as. 51a.

snāw, m., snow: snawe, ds. 265b.

sōna, adv., at once, immediately: 36b, 108b.

sorg, f., care, sorrow: sorh, ns. 256a; sorge, ds. 191a; sorgum, dp. 246a.

sorgian, W II, to sorrow: sorgiendum, pres. part. mds. 44a.

sōð, n., truth: as. 302b.

sōð, adj., true: soðe, wk.fns. 56a.

spearca, m., spark: ns. 219b.

spēd, f., abundance: spede, ds. 268b.

spell, n., story: spellum, instrum.s. 187b.

spræc, f., speech: ns. 187a; spræce, as. 185b.

stan, m., stone: stane, ds. 174b.

standan, 6, to stand: stent, 3 pres. sg. 125a; stænt, 3 pres. sg. 174a.

stearcheard, adj., excessive: nas. 201b.

stedelēas, adj., without stability: stedelease, mnp. 107a.

stefan, f., voice, sound: stefn, ns. 201a.

steorra, m., star: steorran, np. 107b.

sticels, m., goad, stimulus: sticelum, dp. 180b.

stīð, adj., strong, unbending: stiðum, mdp. 180a.

stīþmægen, n., a strong force: ns. 114a.

storm, m., storm: ns. 263b.

stōw, f., place: stowa, ap. 189a.

styllan, W I, to take a place: styllað, 3 pres. pl. 114b.

stȳrian, W I, to stir, sound: styreð, 3 pres. sg. 201a.

sunne, f., sun: ns. 108a.

sunu, m., son: ns. 86a, 279a; as. 298a.

sūsl, n., f., torment: susle, nds. 190b; susle, ap. 154b.

swā, subor. conj., so, as: 4b, 66a, 99b, 216a; swa some (as well) 42b; swa þeah, nevertheless, 59a.

sweart, adj., black, dark: mns. 105a, 106b; sweartum, fdp. 199b.

swēg, m., noise, din: ns. 102a.

swegon, W I, to move noisily, to roar: swegdon, 3 pret. pl. 3b, 7b.

swegel, n., heaven: swegles, gs. 117b, 127b.

swencan, W I, harass: swenced, pp. 214b.

swige, f., silence: ns. 221b.

swīgian, W II, to be silent: swigast, 2 prēs. sg. 67a.

swīð, adj., violent, exceeding: swiðran, comp. wk.mds. 49a; swiðe, nnp. 193a.

swīðe, adv., very much, exceedingly: 24b, 29b, 105b, 246a; swyðe, 49b.

swīðlīc, adj., excessive: fns. 227b; swiðlice, nap. 182b.

swīðlīce, adv., excessively: 160b.

swylc, adj., such: swylce, nns. 271b; swylce, map. 23a, 249b.

swylce, subor. conj., like, as, such: 12a.

sylf, pron., self: sylfum, mds. 18b, 87a, 122b, 182a, 216a.

symle, adv., ever: 289a.

synfull, adj., sinful: mns. 29a; synfulra, gp. 18a; synfullum, dp. 154a.

synn, f., fault, sin: synne, as. 79a; synna, gp. 12b, 56b, 216b; synnum, dp. 78a, 87b.

synnig, adj., guilty: synnge, fnp. 230a; sinnigan, ap. 160a; synnigu, fns. 67b.

synscyldig, adj., wicked: synscyldigra, gp. 169a.

sȳþ, m., a time: as. 89a.

tācn, n., omens, portents: np. 112a.

tēar, m., tear: teara, gp. 79a; tearum, dp. 28b, 34b, 75b; tearas, ap. 82b.

tēona, m., harm, hurt, damage: teonan, ds. 138b.

tīd, f., time period, hour: ns. 83b; as. 13b, 177a, 215b.

tīma, m., time, hour: timan, gs. 83a; timan, as. 68b, 91b.

tintrega, m., torment: ns. 262b.

tō, prep., to: 28b, 85b, 120b, 132b, 138b, 184b, 191a.

tōdælan, W I, to divide, separate: todæleđ, 3 pres. sg. 20a.

tōdēman, W I, to judge between: todemeđ, 3 pres. sg. 20a.

tōmiddes, prep., amidst: 2b, 193b, 286b.

torn, adj., grievous: as. 79b.

tōþ, m., tooth: teþ, np. 196a.

tōweard, adj., future: towearde, mnp. 134b.

tunge, f., tongue: ns. 67b, 138a; tungan, gs. 42a.

tūxl, m., tusk: tuxium, dp. 212a.

þā, adv., conj., then, when: 10a, 33b.

þā hwīl, adv., while: 83a.

þær, adv., there, where: 3a, 5b, 38a, 147b, 156a, 162a, 164a, 170a, 174a, 191a, 194a, 196b, 198b, 201a, 203a,

205a, 209a, 218a, 219a, 220b, 223b, 225a, 226a, 228a, 230a, 254a, 256a, 257a, 259a, 261a, 261b, 263a, 265a, 266a, 268a, 274a, 284a, 287a, 289a, 290a.

þæt, subor. conj., that: 27a, 34a, 40a, 40b, 45a, 66b, 75a, 84b, 110a, 121a, 123a, 137a, 141a, 142a, 217a, 224a.

þe, rel. pron., who: 54a, 93a, 131a, 133a, 178a, 190a, 204b, 249a, 292a, 293a, 302b.

þēah, adv., conj., yet, still, nevertheless: 59a.

þearf, f., need, distress: þearfe, instrum.s. 177b.

þearfa, m., the needy, poor: þearfan, wk.np. 162a.

þearle, adv., greatly, exceedingly: 158b.

þēnian, W II, to serve: þenaþ, 3 pres. sg. 273b.

þēodcyning, m., monarch, king: þeodcyningas, np. 162b.

þēoden, m., Lord: þeodne, as. 252a.

þēodscipe, m., people: þeodscipum, instrum.p. 284b.

þēostru, f., darkness: þeostrum, instrum.p. 254b.

þēowian, W II, to serve: þeowast, 2 pres. sg. 178a.

þes, dem. pron., this: þis, nns. 43a; þysse, fgs. 233a; þissere, fds. 178b; þas, fas. 215b; þis, nas. 24a, 145a, 197a, 213a, 272a; þas, ap. 11a.

þider, adv., thither: 129b, 158a.

þincan, W II, to seem: þincþ, 3 pres. sg. 149a.

þing, n., thing: þinga, gp. 140b; þing, ap. 224a.

ðonne, subor. conj., then, while: 71b, 107a, 111a, 113a, 117a, 135a, 143a, 152a, 158a, 159a, 232a, 234a, 239b, 242a, 252b; þænne, 29a, 124b, 127a, 129a, 244b.

þrēat, m., band: þreatum, dp. 283b.

þrece, m., force, oppression: ns. 192b.

þrosm, m., smoke, darkness: þrosme, ds. 200b; þrosma, gp. 192a.

þrōwian, W II, to suffer: þrowast, 2 pres. sg. 86b.

þrymm, m., glory, majesty: þrymme, instrum.s. 116b.

þu, 2 pers. pron., you: ns. 12a, 66a, 66b, 67a, 68a, 72b, 75a, 77a, 78b, 80a, 82a, 86b, 90a, 123a, 176a, 176b, 177a, 178a, 181a, 302a, 303a; þe, ds. 53a, 66b, 69b, 80a, 178a, 182a; þe, as. 65a, 87a, 180a.

þunerrād, f., thunder: ns. 264a.

þurh, prep., through: 8a, 20b, 296a.

þurhyrnan, 3, to run through: þurhyrnd, 3 pres. sg. 172a.

þurst, m., thirst: ns. 258a.

þȳstre, adj., dark: þystrum, dp. 140a.

ufenan, prep., upon the top of: 145a, 272a; ufenon, 213a.

ufon, adv., down: 111b.

unālȳfed, adj., illicit, unlawful: nns. 243b.

unblēoh, adj., bright, splendid: mns. 304a.

uncræftig, adj., powerless: uncræftiga, wk.mns. 240b.

uncyst, f., vice: ns. 238a.

undǣd, f., evil deed: undædum, dp. 58a.

under, prep., under: 150a.

underfōn, 7, to receive: underfo, 3 pres. sg. opt. 121a.

ungemet, adj., without measure, excessive: ungemetum, dp. (as adv.) 194b.

ungerȳde, adj., rough, violent: ungerydre, fgs. 102b.

unhīrlīc, adj., fierce, savage: unhyrlican, wk.nap. 11a.

unrīm, adj., countless: unrim, nnp. 159b.

unrōt, adj., sad, sorrowful: mns. 10b.

unrōtnes, f., sadness: ns. 228a, 261a.

unstenc, m., stench: unstences, gs. 208a.

ūpcund, adj., celestial: upcundra, gp. 305a.

ūpheofon, m., heaven: ns. 104a.

ūplīc, adj., celestial: fns. 146a; uplicum, mds. 46a; uplicum, nds. 299b; upplice, mnp. 113a.

wā, interj., woe: 178a.

wāc, adj., weak: waces, ngs. 51b.

wǣdl, f., poverty, want: ns. 266a.

wælhrēow, adj., cruel: fns. 228b.

wælgrim, adj., cruel, destructive: wælgrimme, mnp. 211a.

wæter, n., water: wætere, ds. or instrum.s. 52b.

wæterburne, f., a stream of water: wæterburnan, np. 3a.

wagian, W II, to wave, shake: wagedon, 3 pret. pl. 7b.

wandian, W II, to turn aside, refrain: inf. 34a.

wang, m., field, plain, land: wonge, ds. 6b.

wanhydig, adj., foolish, thoughtless: wanhydige, nas. 50a.

wānian, W II, to lament, deplore: wanigendan, pres. part. wk.mnp. 209a.

wānung, f., wailing: as. 202a.

wēa, m., retribution: wean, ds. 200b; weana, gp. 184b.

wealdend, m., master: ns. 50b, 52a.

weallan, 7, to boil, surge: weallendes, pres. part. ngs. 200a.

weard, m., guardian, ruler: ns. 70a; weardas, ap. 300b.

weaxan, 7, to grow, blossom: weoxon, 3 pret. pl. 5b.

wel, adv., well: 27b, 250b, 276a.

weleg, adj., rich: welega, wk.mns. 164b.

weler, m., f., lip: welras, np. 209b.

wēna, m., hope, expectation: wenan, as. 175b; weana, gp. 184b.

wendan, W I, to turn: wendaƌ, 3 pres. pl. 198b, 245b.

weorƌan, 3, to become: wearƌ, 3 pret. sg. 131a; wurde, 3 pret. opt. sg. 217b.

weorƌian, W II, to honor: weorƌaþ, 3 pres. sg. 274b.

wēpan, 7, to weep: wepaƌ, 3 pres. pl. 194b; wepe, 3 pres. opt. 84b.

wer, m., man: wera, gp. 222a.

wērig, adj., weary: werige, wk.nas. 245a.

werod, n., throng, multitude: werode, ds. 282b, 303b; werede, ds. 298b; werod, np. 115a, 128a; wereda, gp. 291b.

wesan, anom., to be: inf. 170a.

wiht, f., n., thing or person: ns. 264b; wihte, fsg. 203b; wihte, ds. 222b (adv.); wiht, as. 34b, 109b; wihta, gp. 248b.

willa, m., pleasure, joy: willan, ds. 85b.

willan, anom., to will, please: wile, 3 pres. sg. 95b, 155b, 89a; wyle, 3 pres. sg. 52a; wille, 3 pres. opt. sg. 302a; woldon, 3 pret. pl. 133b; nele, neg. 3 pres. sg. 49b.

wind, m., wind: winda, gp. 8a.

winter, m., winter: ns. 264a.

wist, f., feast: wistum, dp. 234b.

wīte, n., punishment, torment: ns. 92b; witu, np. 218b; witu, ap. 23b, 182b, 188b, 250a.

wītega, m., prophet: witegan, ap. 285b.

wiđ, prep., with, to: 73b, 224a; wiđ þam, 303a (provided that).

wlacu, adj., lukewarm: wlacan, wk.mas. 51a.

wolcn, n., cloud: ns. 8b.

wong, m., plain, place, field: wonge, ds. 6b.

wōp, m., cry of grief: ns. 173b; wopes, gs. 83b; wope, ds. 35b; wop, as. 202a; wope, instrum.s. 45b; wopas, ap. 90b.

word, n., speech, words: wordum, dp. 41a, 61a, 73a.

worn, m., band, multitude: as. 222b.

woruld, f., world: worulde, ds. 141b, 178b, 233a; woruld, as. 198a, 248a, 251b; worulda, gp. 198a, 248a.

wrēnnes, f., lust: ns. 236a.

wrecan, 5, to punish, avenge: inf. 89a; wrecenda, pp.

wk.mns. 155a.

wudubēam, m., a forest tree: wudubeamas, np. 7a.

wuldor, n., glory: ns. 270a.

wuldrian, W II, to glorify: wuldraþ, 3 pres. sg. 276a.

wund, f., wound: wunda, gp. 45a.

wurðmynt, f., n., honor: ns. 270a.

wylspryng, m., well spring, source: wylspringas, ap. 27a.

wynwyrt, f., pleasant plant: wynwyrta, np. 5a.

wyrm, m., worm, serpent: wyrmas, np. 168b, 211b.

yfel, n., evil, ill: yfeles, gs. 175b; yfel, as. 23b.

yld, f., old age: ns. 256b.

ymbhwyrft, m., orbit, globe: as. 72a.

ymtrymman, W I, to surround: ymtrymmað, 3 pres. pl. 128b.

yppan, W I, to make known: ypte, 3 pret. sg. 142b.

yrmð, indec.f., poverty, misery: ns. 267a.

yrre, n., anger, ire: ns. 229a; as. 17b, 76a.

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